



MARQUETTE AT ST. IGNACE DE MICHIGAN

MACKINAC

FORMERLY

MICHILIMACKINAC

A HISTORY AND GUIDE BOOK WITH MAPS

BY

JOHN READ BAILEY, M.D.

COMMISSIONER OF MACKINAC ISLAND STATE PARK

TOURISTS' EDITION

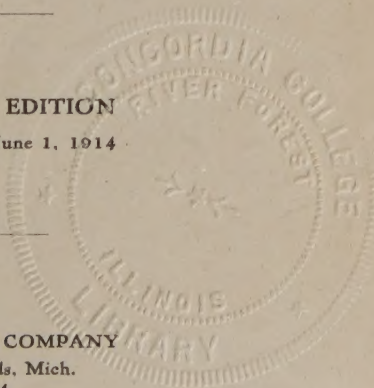
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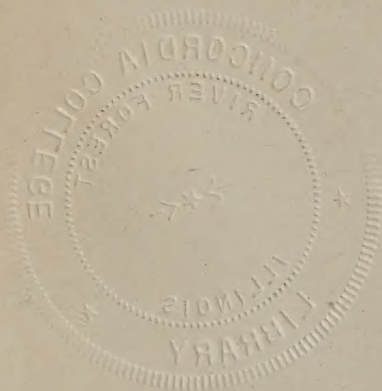


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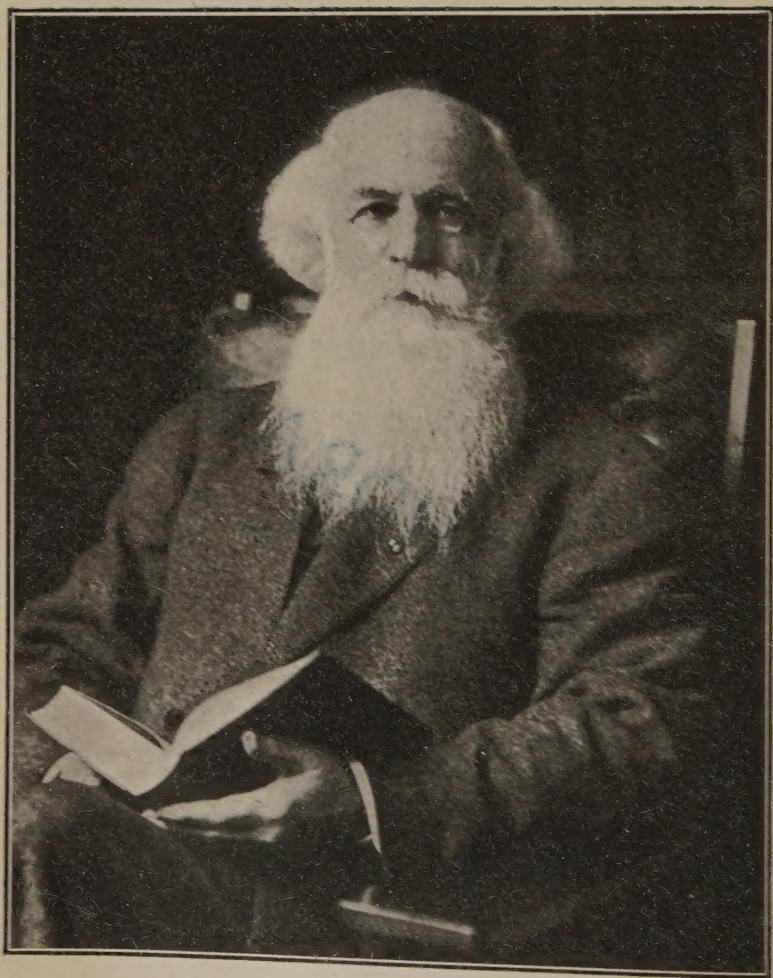


WITH LOVE AND A TRIBUTE OF RESPECT
THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED
TO MY SISTER,
MARY NEOSHO WILLIAMS,
WIDOW OF GENERAL THOMAS WILLIAMS,
UNITED STATES ARMY,
WHO WAS KILLED AT THE HEAD OF HIS VICTORIOUS TROOPS,
IN THE BATTLE OF BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA,
AUGUST FIFTH,
EIGHTEEN HUNDRED AND SIXTY-TWO

TOURISTS' EDITION

1914

WITHDRAWN



John R. Bailey

BIOGRAPHY OF AUTHOR

John Read Bailey descended from American stock and was born in New York City, July 23, 1833, being the oldest son of the late Captain Joseph H. Bailey, of the medical corps of the United States Army. The period intervening between 1834 and 1850, except that portion marking the Florida and Mexican wars, was spent by the father at military posts in Arkansas and the Indian Territory, but the family lived on a plantation near Fort Smith, Arkansas, where the subject of this sketch attended the public schools and Saint Andrew's Catholic College. During 1850 and 1851 the home of the family was at Madison Barracks, Sackett's Harbor, New York, and from 1852 to 1854 residence was enjoyed at Mackinac Island, Michigan, where the Captain had been assigned to duty.

At an early age John R. elected the career of medicine, and graduated from the medical department of the University of Michigan, March 30, 1854, about four months prior to attaining his twenty-first birthday. He was immediately appointed Acting Assistant Surgeon in the United States Army at Fort Mackinac, and Indian Physician to the Chippewa and Ottawa Indians at the Michilimackinac Agency. Since 1854 he has served as Post Surgeon at Fort Mackinac no less than twenty times. He was also stationed at Fort Hamilton, New York, in 1856 and at Fort Snelling, Minnesota, during the Indian war in 1857. He subsequently entered private practice on Mackinac Island, but at the outbreak of the Civil War formed a company of infantry, and in June, 1861, offered his services to Governor Blair, expressing willingness to wield musket, sword, or scalpel. His proffer was accepted, but the trend of events changed his plans and rendered necessary a sojourn in Saint Louis, Missouri, to afford a beloved mother assistance in influencing his father and brothers to espouse the cause of the United States Government. As a result, father, four sons, and two sons-in-law, served, with commissions, in the Union army, the author entering the conflict as Assistant Surgeon of the Eighth Missouri Infantry Volunteers, but his rank was soon raised to Major and Surgeon, and later he received promotion to the Brevet Lieutenant-Colonelcy of United States Volunteers for meritorious and distinguished services in the field, the honor being conferred by act of Congress. During the first year of the war he organized the New House of Refuge General Hospital and commanded the post bearing the same name, in Saint Louis, Missouri. As the contest progressed he became the recipient of many titles, the most noteworthy being Surgeon-in-Chief and Chief of the Operating Corps of the Second Division of the Fifteenth Army Corps; Chief Medical Officer on

the Staff of General Morgan L. Smith, General Lewis Wallace, General Giles A. Smith, General Joseph A. J. Lightburn, General David Stewart, General William T. Sherman, and General Frank P. Blair, Junior; Surgeon in charge of Special Field and General Field Hospitals at Fort Donelson, Shiloh, Russell's House, Corinth, Memphis, and Vicksburg; besides Special Medical Purveyor to the Army of the Tennessee in the Field at Chattanooga.

Dr. Bailey has been an active man all his life, socially, politically and fraternally, and has had many honors thrust upon him. He is a third degree Mason and Past Commander of Wm. M. Fenton Post, St. Ignace, G. A. R. He is a companion of the Military Order of Loyal Legion of the U. S. and was the first President of Chippewa County Medical Society, comprising Chippewa, Mackinac and Luce counties. Dr. Bailey is an honorary member of the Michigan State Medical Society, Upper Peninsular Medical Society, honorary life member of the Loyal Guard and a member of the American Medical Association and Roll of Honor of the University of Michigan.

In civil life he has likewise served his fellow-citizens in official capacity. He has twice been president of the village (now city) of Mackinac Island, once by appointment and once by election. For years, until recently, he has been a member of the Board of School Examiners of Mackinac county, besides holding various other minor offices, and is at present a member of the Mackinac Island State Park Commission.

The doctor has been twice married and is the father of four children by his first wife, three of whom are living—Matthew G., pharmacist; Guy G., physician, and Jennie B. (Mrs. Clow), physician. His first helpmate was Miss Sarah Gray, of Mackinac Island, who became his bride in 1858 and died in 1876. Five years afterward he married Miss Mary Ette Marshall, of Jefferson County, New York, who is still living.

As physician, soldier, and citizen, Doctor Bailey has lived an active life. The major portion of his energy has been expended in alleviating suffering humanity, but a goodly amount has been invested in projects aiming for the betterment of municipal and commercial conditions. He was the originator of five bills contemplating the improvement and embellishment of Mackinac Island and vicinity, all of which were passed by Congress. He had sole charge of a bill relating to the fisheries of the Great Lakes from Duluth and Chicago to the Saint Lawrence River, which was eventually merged into a treaty with Great Britain.

While the doctor has not been a prolific writer, but rather a worker, he has nevertheless prepared a number of important medical and historical papers which have attracted considerable attention, notably "Beaumont—Army Surgeon;" "A Memoir of Pere James Marquette;" "The Legend of Michilimackinac," which was prepared at the request of General Winfield Scott Hancock, commander of the Military Division of the Atlantic; and "The Province of Michilimackinac," and illustrated article contributed

to the thirty-second volume of "Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections."

Nothwithstanding a very strenuous career, Doctor Bailey has found time to devote to the religious side of life. He was blessed by the birthright of Christian parentage and is a believer of the Episcopal persuasion. Most of his relatives are members of that Church, and a nephew, Right Reverend G. Mott Williams, is Bishop of Marquette, a diocese named in compliment of the missionary explorer. The doctor has been identified with church progress from early life, and has received some of the honors bestowed upon the elect, having for years served in the capacity of senior warden, and is now lay reader, an honor conferred upon him over forty years ago by Bishop McCoskry and continued by Bishops Harris and Davies.

Although presenting a serious expression of countenance the doctor has a humorous vein coursing through his anatomy, and his faculty of provoking mirth is a happy characteristic. He is charitable, liberal in his views, and pays homage to merit. He does not believe in extracting fame and glory from ancestral skeletons to offer as bounty for recognition in the social realm, but judges personal worth by the kind of noise an individual is making in the world. He is not satisfied with merely being good, but strives to be good for something. The world has been enriched by his presence, and the influence he is exerting for good will surely be accorded par value at the goal of human destiny.

John William Keating.

IN MEMORIAM

On the morning of January 18th, 1910, the residents of Mackinac Island were shocked by the announcement by telegram that their old neighbor and life-long friend, Lieut.-Col. and Surgeon JOHN R. BAILEY had just died at the home of a brother in Fort Smith, Ark. He had left there early in the autumn, intending to spend some months in the south, and the announcement of his sudden demise was the first intimation to the family of anything wrong. He was always a devoted and enthusiastic champion for the betterment and beautification of the beautiful island which, for so many years, was the scene of his labors.

His "History of Mackinac," published in popular form, was the result of deep and painstaking research, and is a very valuable contribution to the literature of Michigan, and is highly prized by the frequenters of that famous summer resort. He was for years the Commissioner for Mackinaw Island State Park, and was largely instrumental in having a large part of the island reserved for park purposes. He was an enthusiastic admirer of the life and career of Pere Marquette and wrote much concerning his history, and was an earnest advocate of the placing of the statue of that devoted pioneer missionary in the beautiful little garden park below the old fort. He was permitted to see this accomplished in the summer of 1909.

PREFACE

1895. MACKINAC, formerly Michilimackinac—looking backward to about the time of “The Flood” and forward to the present time—has been carefully written, and the following works and official reports referred to: Alexander Henry’s Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories between the years 1760 and 1776; Mitchell’s Geography, 1843; Taylor’s Manual of History; Michigan Manual; London and Paris State Papers; United States State Papers and Official Reports; Sketches of the Life of Gurdon S. Hubbard; Letters and Documents of the American Fur Company; author’s personal copies of Official Letters and Reports from Fort Mackinac, Michigan, together with his Memoir of Pere James Marquette; Verwyst’s Missionary Labors of Marquette, Menard and Allouez; Ancient and Modern Michilimackinac; Blackbird’s History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan; Maps of Mackinac; Palmer’s Historical Register, 1814; Shea’s Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi; also, Shea’s Catholic Missions; Hennepin; La Hontan, two volumes; Charlevoix, two volumes; Carver; Disturnell; Newcomb’s Cyclopaedia of Missions; American Missions to the Heathen; Geological Reports by Foster and Whitney, and by Professor Winchell; Thatcher’s Indian Biography, two volumes; Strickland’s Old Mackinaw; Drake’s Northern Lakes and Southern Invalids; also, Diseases of the Mississippi Valley, by the same author; Holmes’ American Annals, two volumes; Robertson’s History of America; Bancroft’s United States; Bell’s Canada two volumes; Albach’s Annals of the West; Lahnman’s Michigan; Sheldon’s Early Michigan; Historical and Scientific Sketches of Michigan; Neill’s Minnesota; Smith’s Wisconsin, three volumes; Wynne’s General History of the British Empire; Roger’s Concise Account of North America; Dillon’s Early Settlement of the Northwestern Territory; Heriot’s Canada; Parkman’s Pontiac; Parkman’s Discovery of the Great West; Schoolcraft’s Works, complete; O’Callaghan’s Documentary

of New York, complete; Butterfield's History and Discovery of the Northwest; and various other works in my library.

I am under obligations to First Lieutenant Woodbridge Geary, commanding Fort Mackinac, David W. Murray, and 1909, B. F. Emery, of the Island, for books of reference.

The historical facts and dates are drawn from books, and matter that has long been accumulating, and much, in the last century, from personal observation of over fifty years of life with the Indians on the frontiers of our nation.

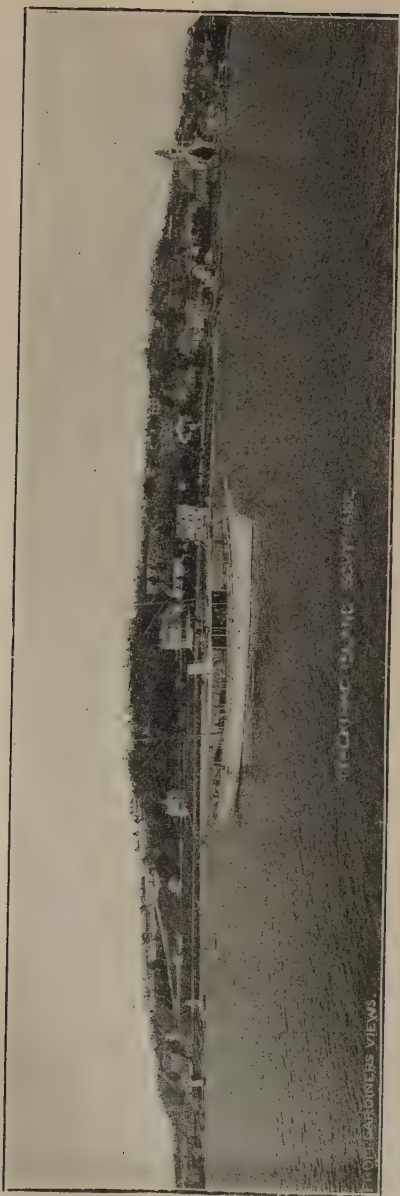
Abbreviations, spelling, and construction in quotations are reproduced as in the original.

J. R. B.

Mackinac Island, Michigan, May 24, 1895.

*Mackinac Island, Michigan: Tourists Edition, Revised,
June 1, 1914.*

M. G. B.



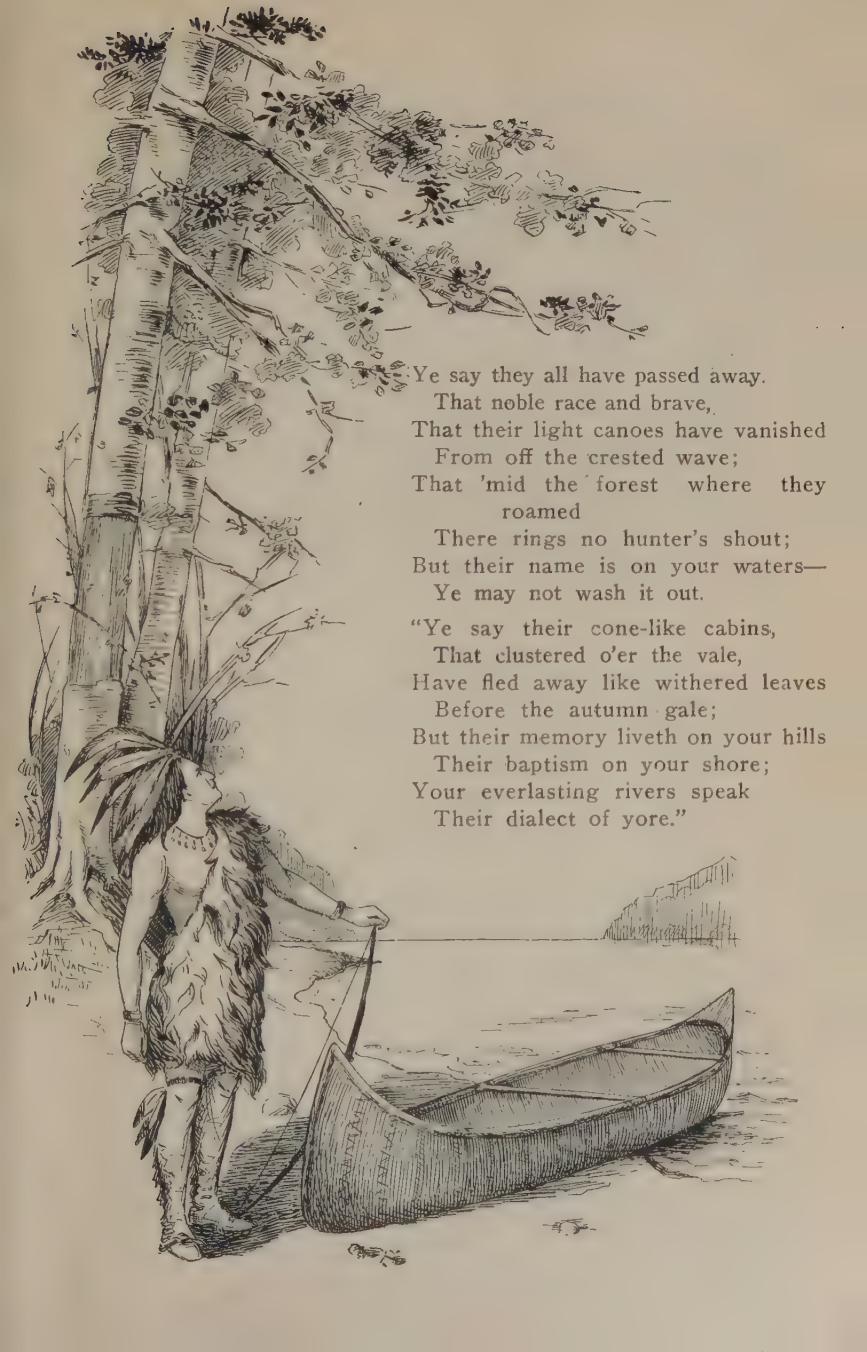
MACKINAC ISLAND, SOUTH VIEW

FROM FARMERS VIEWS.

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Ye say they all have passed away.

That noble race and brave,
That their light canoes have vanished
From off the crested wave;
That 'mid the forest where they
roamed

There rings no hunter's shout;
But their name is on your waters—
Ye may not wash it out.

"Ye say their cone-like cabins,
That clustered o'er the vale,
Have fled away like withered leaves
Before the autumn gale;
But their memory liveth on your hills
Their baptism on your shore;
Your everlasting rivers speak
Their dialect of yore."



INDIAN FISHERMAN IN CANOE

MACKINAC, FORMERLY MICHILIMACKINAC

GENESIS OF THE INDIAN.

"Lo! the poor Indian, whose untutored mind,
Sees God in clouds and hears Him in the wind."

To ascertain the genesis of a race or people we must carry our researches far back of modern times into the regions of antiquity. Man began with a mere existence; his personal wants and desires were all he had to care for. The Indian, like the Caucasian, is a creature of environment. He advanced as his limited resources permitted, or descended to the lowest grade of savagery when driven out by a stronger tribe and forced to extremity.

When the Spaniards first visited this then unknown land, they found the inhabitants of the New World in the various stages of society, from the lowest savage state to that of a half civilized people. Whence came these tribes and why their various conditions. They must have migrated from adjacent lands and probably reached this continent from the near shores of Northeastern Asia.

America is a continuation of the land surface of the earth from Asia. The shallow straits of Behring are merely a depression in the uplift where the ancient drift and glaciers washed through and by erosion made the original valley wider and deeper.

PEOPLE OF ALASKA.

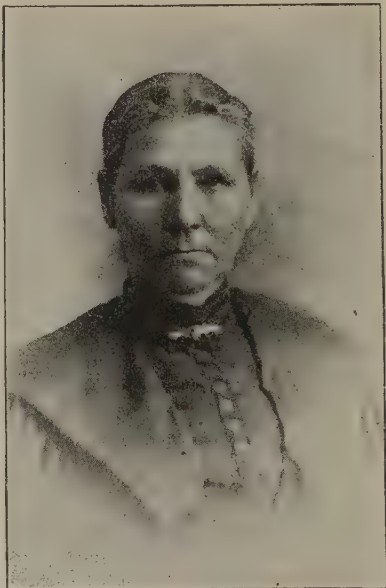
The Esquimaux are evidently of Tartar origin, and no doubt migrated from Asia about the time of their wars in China during the ninth and tenth centuries. Chinese records state that in the fifth century Buddhists were in America ("Fusang"), twenty thousand li, or about two thousand five hundred miles east of Kamchatka, and due east of China (*Harper's Magazine*, July, 1901, pages 251-258). The language of the people on the Eastern and Western coasts of North America, by the sea, and of the Tchukteki bear a strong resemblance. Interpreters from Hudson's Bay and Moravian missionaries from Labrador can converse with them. The language of the Nulato Indians within the Arctic Circle and the Apaches of New Mexico and Arizona are the same. They, the Esquimaux, in speaking of themselves apply the word "Enyuin," people. Esquimaux is understood by all the tribes bordering the Arctic Ocean ten thousand miles through Asia and North America. The beginning of winter is the first of their year. It is divided into four seasons and thirteen moons.

Kinzeghan, near Cape Prince of Wales, Alaska, has long been a trading place with Tchuktehi or Asiatic tribes, who cross the straits, from East Cape, in boats, in mid-summer, by way of the Diomedede islands. They meet the natives of the coast, east and west, and those of the Mackenzie and Yukon river basins, who come far from the south to trade. In July the Mackenzie is navigable, for large vessels, into Great Slave Lake, more than one thousand miles south of the "Frozen Ocean," and the Yukon (or Kivhpak) as far. Fish and game are abundant in all this territory, and barley, oats and potatoes will grow to maturity at Fort Norman, latitude 64° 31' north. (See "Russian American," in *Hours at Home*, July, 1867, pages 254 to 265.)

In arctic climes the days of summer are long, the heat of the sun often intense, nights are short, and the face of nature develops rapidly. The rivers and even the streamlets become irresistible, moving floods. They teem with terrestrial life along their borders, and aqueous life within, and winged aerial upon their waters. Therefore, there is food enough, and to spare, for the Tartar Indian nomads.

1895. There is now living on Mackinac Island a mixed-blood Indian woman about sixty-eight years old (who came here when seventeen), of the Kilistinoux or Cree tribe. She was born in the Churchill river country, between Hudson's Bay and Great and Little Slave Lakes. She says her people went to the north in summer by way of Great Slave Lake to barter with the tribes on the "Frozen Sea." They started early in March and did not return until the next year. They met the people from the "Sea" coming up the river, half way

Some of her people returned and others went north and did not come back. Other parties went north by way of Red river (of the north) to trade and sell furs. They, too, would go one year, start in March and not come back until the next season. Time then was no object. This woman, Madame Cadreau (now Cadotte), is part French. Her people gave her in marriage to Cadreau when she was only twelve years old. He was a *coureur de bois* and an engagee of the Hudson's Bay Company. Madame Cadreau is an intelligent, industrious, hard-working woman, and is generally respected.



MADAM CADREAU

She relates this story as a part of her life without the slightest idea it has any bearing of importance.

"The Kilistinoux have their more ordinary place of abode in the vicinity of the Sea of the North." "The 'Assimpoula lac,' a tribe allied with the Kilistinoux, where the country is still more toward the north"—Assineboines, from "assin," a stone, and "boines," or eboines," a corruption of "Bawn" Sioux. (See Historical and Biographical Notes.) They are the Sioux of the north, and bands of the Sioux of the plains far to the south of them.

THE JEWS IN CHINA.

Colonies of Jewish extraction have been known to exist in Pekin and the interior of China in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and before. Jewish traditions, Chinese inscriptions, and observations of travelers show that large and influential communities of the Children of Israel have resided in China for a period of not less than two thousand years.*

†China is the oldest nation on the face of the earth and has been a government, it is claimed, for at least forty-five centuries. Japan was settled from that country and was a part of that vast domain. The natives of Japan believe their country existed 660 years before the Christian Era.

‡That the aboriginals of America came originally from Asia and the outlying islands of that continent, by the natural drift of current events, and the "Curo Shiwo" and the Pacific drift currents, can hardly be doubted. They might have been driven off the coasts of Japan in their frail craft by storms and wafted by the ocean currents to the shores of Alaska, or as far to the south as California and Mexico, or have crossed Behring straits by way of the several islands in that channel. Numerous instances of wrecks with survivors on board have been recorded before and since 1785. In 1837 three shipwrecked Japanese were picked up in Washington Territory. Others have since been rescued along the Pacific coasts and returned to Japan.

*Hours at Home, May 1868, pages 90-93.

†China, pages 397-409 and to 414, and Japan, 627-634, Lalor's Cyclopaedia of Political Science, et cetera.

What occurred 100 years ago could have happened 1,000 years before, or at any time since the flood, when "All the fountains of the great deep were broken up," and afterwards the surface of the earth was re-peopled. There is no mystery about the origin of the native American. The Indian came from Asia, the cradle of the human race. He may have been Aryan or Mongolian or other extraction; that is of no consideration. Time, climate, food, habits, and environment, with all its influences have effaced his lineage and made him a distinctly marked type. So, Columbus, when he was first discovered by the shy inhabitants of our tropical sea, was not so far out of the way when he named the natives "Indians."

Having essayed to trace the origin of the aborigines, we now come to the time, from A. D. 986 to 1001 and 1492, when they were sighted by eastern navigators in their native land. One of them, whose exploits are recorded and best known, the aforesaid Christopher Columbus, in 1492, first landed from his caravels on the tropical island, one of a group at the entrance of what is now the Gulf of Mexico. That Genoese anchored off the coast and viewed the "Promised Land." Investing himself and his followers in gorgeous array they waded to the shore, bearing aloft the colors of Spain and Aragon, with the cross, the emblem of Christianity. He unfurled the flag and planted the cross before the astonished and frightened natives on the soil of the New World, taking by force of arms a country belonging to others, in the name of the sovereigns who prompted his enterprise. Here began a series of acts, wrongs, sequestration, pillage and extermination that has been continued under the guise of Christianity by the nations of Europe and our Republic to the present time. It is but the continuance of the survival of the fittest—the strong overpowering the weak.

Columbus was followed by Cortez, for one, who fell upon the peaceful nations of Mexico and Peru, slaughtered their people, dethroned their monarchs, and laid waste their cities and plantations. Those nations are said to have been far advanced in civilization, agriculture and social conditions. And about the same time came the French, English, Dutch, Portugese and others, until we come down to the founding of a New France, on the banks and in the the valley

of the St. Lawrence which includes the basin of the Great Lakes.

NEW FRANCE.

Jacques Cartier, St. Malo, France, discovered the St. Lawrence in 1534, and anchored in Gaspe Bay. He had two vessels of fifty tons each, and one hundred and twenty-two sailors. He sailed up the gulf in August until he could see land on both sides of the river. The following year he returned and ascended the St. Lawrence as far as the Indian village on the island of Hochelaga. He called the hill on the island "Mont-Real," and it is now the city of Montreal. He remained all the winter of 1535 in a palisaded fort on the banks of the St. Charles. That winter was very cold and many of his men died.

In the spring he took possession of the country again, as he had done the year before, in the name of the King of France. Then he returned to France in two of his ships, having abandoned the third one, and on July 16, 1536, again anchored at St. Malo. Cartier's abandoned ship was found imbedded in mud three hundred and twelve years afterwards. No attempt to plant a permanent colony was made for a series of years after 1534 and 1536 but it is inferred that some French of both of these expeditions remained and intermarried with the Algonquins and Hurons, adapting themselves to their condition and mode of life.

Again, May 23, 1541, Cartier sailed from St. Malo with five vessels, under the auspices of Sieur de Jean Francois de la Roche. La Roche was Lord of Roberval, whom the French King had appointed Viceroy of the Country of the St. Lawrence, January 15, 1540. Cartier entered the St. Lawrence and established a fort near the present site of Quebec. Then he, in two boats, went up the river and explored the rapids above Hochelaga island. After the exploration he returned and passed the winter in his fort. In the spring he returned to France. In June, 1542, when outward bound, he met the Viceroy at the harbor of St. John with three ships and two hundred men. Roberval ordered him to return, but he eluded him in the night and continued his voyage. The Viceroy, although abandoned, wintered in the St. Lawrence. That spring, 1543, he also left the country and

virtually gave up his possessions. No doubt more of the Viceroy's men remained in the land and took dusky residents for wives.

Adventurers and fishermen continued to cross the Atlantic, until 1578 there were no less than twenty whalers from the Bay of Biscay, and three hundred and fifty fishing vessels at Newfoundland. Those people were French, Spanish, Portuguese and English. They must, of course, have visited the mainland to barter and get supplies from the natives.

King Henry IV of France encouraged the Marquis de la Roche, in 1598, to recolonize New France. But that expedition was ill fated, and forty convicts were left on Sable island near the coast of Nova Scotia. Five years afterward twelve of the convicts were found alive.

The following year a merchant, Francois Grave, Sieur du Pont, and a marine captain, Chauvin, were granted a monopoly of the fur trade by the King of France. They started out to get five thousand persons to found the new colony. Arriving at the mouth of the Saguenay, there at Tadousac, they built a cluster of log huts and storehouses, and left sixteen men to gather furs. They left and did not return until 1601, when they found the men had scattered among the Indians or were dead. Chauvin made a second and a third voyage, but the colonizing scheme was another failure. On the third voyage he died, and with him the colony ended.

In 1603, Samuel Champlain formed a company of merchants and adventurers to found, in earnest, a colony in Canada. He sailed over in two small vessels, and made a survey of the St. Lawrence as far as the island of Hochelaga. He tried to ascend the rapids, in a skiff with Indian guides, but did not succeed. The Indians made a rude plan of the river and the lakes above, that gave a crude idea of their vast extent. On getting the information he desired he returned to his ships and sailed for France, but resolved to come again better equipped. Champlain sailed, the second time, April 13, 1608, fitted out for trade, exploration and colonization. The Saguenay was reached in June, and soon after a settlement was made, at Quebec, on the bank where the lower town is situated.

The winter of 1608-9 was severe, and not being inured

to cold his men suffered greatly. On the opening of spring fresh supplies from France arrived. June 1609, Champlain, with only two white men and sixty Hurons and Algonquins, ascended the Richelieu into the lake that now bears his name. They were met on the lake and opposed by a band of Iroquois, which was soon routed by a few shots from an arquebuse. The Iroquois and all the five nations of what is now New York, were at war with the Hurons of the lakes and the Algonquins, whose range was the Ottawa and St. Lawrence rivers. Afterward the French called all Algonquins, wherever found, Ottawas.

Champlain returned to France, but we find him back to his province in 1610, 1611 and 1613, having crossed and returned between those periods. Having learned from the Indians the great extent of the country, the distant Hudson's Bay, the large fresh water seas, and the copper found on the shores of Lake Superior, of the fish of all the waters in unlimited quantity, and the fur-bearing animals, he wished to visit them. The great object, then, was to secure the fur trade and explore the route to China and India. With that intent in 1613 he sailed up the St. Lawrence "bound for the Ottawa to discover the North Sea." He reached Isle des Allumettes and returned, baffled and disgusted, to France.

1615. The Indians along the St. Lawrence and the shores of the Great Lakes came early, in summer, to trade with the French settlers. That year, when the Hurons and Algonquins were assembled at Montreal, they asked Champlain to lead them against their old enemies, the Iroquois of New York, and he accepted their proposal. Champlain then went to Quebec for supplies. Returning, he learned the savages got impatient and left July 1 for their villages. Father Joseph le Caron, a Recollet, and twelve Frenchmen, who were armed, went with them on July 10. Champlain followed with ten Indians and two Frenchmen. Both parties went by way of the Ottawa in the Algonquin villages. They passed the two lakes of the Allumettes and took a long used portage* to Lake Nipissing, and from that lake in canoes floated and paddled down the French river into Georgian Bay. Then they took a southward course along the shores of the bay

*Between Lake Nipissing and the Mattawan, or "beaver residence."

to the Huron villages, more than one hundred miles distant at the head of the bay, the allied forces then moving across the country by way of the river Trent to Lake Ontario. They boldly crossed the lake and landed, pushed into the interior and besieged the Iroquois, who were intrenched in a fort on Onondagna Lake. They were not successful and returned to their homes with Champlain. In the spring Champlain returned to Quebec, (the strait or narrows, Algonquin) by the way of the Ottawa, arriving July 11, 1616. Le Carron returned a few days before Champlain, having learned something of the language and the Indian mode of life. It is claimed that the Chippewas and Ottawas (Algonquins) of the straits of Michilimackinac and Lake Michigan islands, and a few Sacs and Sioux (Nadoues Sioux, the snake-like ones) were in that expedition. At that early period Champlain and his followers had learned, from observation and previous reports, of the vast extent of territory and inland fresh water seas, he held for the French crown.

FRANCISCAN MONKS.

From 1608 to 1633 the priests and monks of the gray robes (Recollets) were the dominant religious order in New France. Up to 1622 they had established five missions from Arcadia to the borders of Lake Huron. Champlain himself was a zealot firmly imbued with the Roman faith. "Canada was a true child of the Church." The statesman, soldier, and the priest, with his cross, went hand in hand together and planted a shrine in every village. Their object was to secure the rich fur trade and proselyte the natives to the Church of Rome.

1622. This year the Huguenots received a concession in New France, but their stay was short. Then, for the first time, there came three Jesuits, one of them John de Brebeuf, whose career and final death is historic.

1627. Louis the thirteenth (Richelieu, being Cardinal and really King) chartered the "Hundred Associates Company," granting them forever Quebec and the fort, all New France and Florida. Champlain was one of that company. The King gave the company two ships and invested them with almost sovereign power. The Roman Catholic Church

was to be the established one, and no other. That, with the Indian wars and the Huguenots, led to new troubles in the province, and

"A strange harmonious inclination
Of all degrees to reformation."

1629. The British captured Quebec and all New France during this year, and returned the whole country, by treaty, in 1632.

1633. We find Champlain again in command of the fort and town of Quebec and New France, that he had previously been obliged to surrender to the British; this time under the "Hundred Associates Company," and the Jesuits, priests of the black robes, in the ascendant.

As soon as the French were known to be in command again, one hundred and fifty Huron canoes arrived at Fort St. Croix (Three Rivers), to trade with their old friends. With them came John Nicolet, the interpreter, who was directed by Champlain to proceed with the returning convoys to "La Nation des Puants" (at Green Bay, Wisconsin), to make a treaty with them and learn of "The Men of the Sea" about their country, and "the great water."

1634. In compliance with instructions Jean Nicolet, who had returned with the Hurons, journeyed by the Ottawa route, Lake Nipissing and Georgian Bay, towards the land of the Winnebagoes. He was conveyed by seven friendly Indians in birch-bark canoes. Passing the mouth of the French river westward, he met the "Nation of Beavers" "Am i kou ai" (amik or Amikou) a beaver. They were descended from the "Great Beaver," next to the "Great Hare," their principal divinity. Their original homes were the Beaver Islands (Isles du Castor) in Lake Michigan and afterward the Manitoulin Islands in Lake Huron. The French named them Nez Perces from their habit of wearing ornaments and feathers thrust through their noses.

The following is translated from the French: "†On the 18th of June, 1635, the chief of the Nez Perces or Beaver Nation, which is three days journey from us (the Jesuit missionaries located at the head of Georgian Bay of Lake Huron) came to demand of us some of the Frenchmen to

†History of the Discovery of the Northwest, pages 45-6, John Nicolet, 1635.

go with them to pass the summer in a fort which they had made by reason of the fear which they have of the **"A8 eats 1-8 aenuhonon,"* that is to say the nation of the Puarts—(Winnebagoes), who have broken the treaty of peace and have killed two of their men, of whom they have made a feast."

The Beaver tribe were then on the main land where *Sieur Nicolet* found them. Still farther on the shore of the great lake were the *"Oumisagaii"* Indians. All were of Algonquin stock, and could be easily understood. The canoes pressed onward and entered the *St. Mary's* river at *De Tour* (the turn) and paddled up the stream to the falls *Sault de Saint Marie*. "And there stood *Nicolet*, the first white man to set foot upon any portion of what was, more than a century and a half after, called 'the territory northwest of the river Ohio,'" at present the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota east of the Mississippi river. The Indians found at the *Sault* (leap or fall) pronounced *So*, were also Algonquins, Ojibwas or Chippewas (*Otchipwes*) called by the French *Saulteurs* (and *Sauteurs*) and by the Sioux at *Raratwaus* (people of the falls), and other names meaning the same.

After a short stay at *Sault Ste. Marie* he returned down the river in his canoes propeled by the paddles of seven Hurons. On reaching the mouth of the river they made the turn (*De Tour*) and coursing along the shores of the northern peninsula they passed *Les Cheneaux* (the channels), *St. Martin's* Islands, *St. Ignace*, and the island of *Michilimackinac*, *Gros Cap* and *Seul Choix* in succession, until they turned from *Lake Michigan* into *Bay de Noquet* ("*Ne-gaw-sand*"), where the shores are sand. There is a big and little bay of the same name. Here he visited a tribe called *Roqui* and *Noquets*, or bear family, Algonquins classed with Chippewas. Farther up *Green Bay* he came to the *Menominees* on a river of the same name. They were Algonquins of a lighter color, and their language was not easy to understand. They lived on wild rice and by fishing and hunting. After a short stay he resumed his voyage to the Winnebagoes, to whom he had sent one of the Hurons in advance. The Indian was well received, foretold of his coming and his message of peace.

*"8" occurs in *The Relation* of 1636, and is equivalent in English to w, we or oo. Also *Aweatsalwaerrhonon* by the Hurons.

The Winnebagoes sent several of their young men to meet him, the "wonderful man," who escorted him and carried his baggage to their camp. Arriving, he advanced clothed in a robe of "Chinese damask sprinkled with flowers and birds of different colors," and a pistol in each hand, both of which he discharged in the air to the right and left. The women and children fled in dismay, for he was a "Manitou," who carried thunder in his hands. The Winnebagoes were found to be numerous. Their language was different from any Algonquins or Hurons; they were of Dakota stock. At that time the Sacs and Foxes had not arrived; they came at a later period.

Hearing of his coming, four or five thousand natives of the different tribes soon assembled to meet him in council. Nicolet made an alliance with them and urged them to keep the peace with each other and the tribes eastward of Lake Huron and with the Hurons and Nez Percés.

After the treaty he visited the Mascoutins, six days' journey up the Fox river. These Indians were also called "Les Renards," "Musquakies," et cetera. Champlain heard of them in 1615, "as being engaged in a war with the Neuter Nation and the Ottawas." From the tribe (Mascoutins) and others Nicolet got confused stories of the Mississippi, Algonquin, "Missi," great, and "sepe," water, also "Mitchee-zeber," great river. They were so mixed with the Ouisconsin (Wisconsin) that he could not get a definite idea of what he and others supposed was the "sea," distant only three days' journey. From here he went southward and visited the Illinois tribe on the prairies and returned to the Winnebagoes.

On his return trip homeward he tarried with the Pottawattomies, who lived on the island at the mouth of Green Bay.

1635. In the spring of this year, after the ice had broken up, the course was by way of the Straits of Michilimackinac and the island of the same name to the south shore of Great Manitoulin Island, where a band of the Ottawas lived. The same seven Hurons were with him as his convoy. From that island they crossed Georgian Bay to the Huron villages. That season he accompanied the Indians on their annual trading trip to his post on the St. Lawrence

river. They probably reached Three Rivers between July 15 and 23, 1635. See Vimont (*Relations*, 1640 and 1643). Champlain died in the fort at Quebec, December 25, 1635.

1643. Fathers Isaac Jogues and Raymbault, S. J., planted the cross at Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan. Jean Nicolet was drowned by the upsetting of a boat on the river, above Quebec, near the last of October, 1642. (*Butterfield's History of the Discovery of the Northwest.*)

1646. October 18, Father Isaac Joques was tortured and killed by the Mohawks.

1648. July 14, the mission of St. Mary's on the river Richelieu, was surprised by the Iroquois, early in the morning when the braves were absent on war or hunting parties, and all the women and children, old men and the attending priest (Father Daniel) were massacred. The Hurons were terrified and village after village was abandoned.

1649. At daybreak, on March 16, one thousand Iroquois assaulted the town of St. Ignatius on the Richelieu (Sorel), and all were butchered and scalped except three who escaped to St. Louis, near by. (See page 38.) The Hurons fled in all directions and fifteen towns were abandoned. December 7, 1649, the village of Etharita (near the head of Georgian Bay), of the Tinnontate Hurons (who cultivated tobacco), was attacked and the men, women and children and Father Garner, tomahawked and massacred. After this general Algonquin defeat, "the Hurons and Ottawa were settled for some years on Missilemackinac Island, and, again, fled to the islands at the entrance of Green Bay, thence to the shores." (*Memorie, Nicolas Perot*, pages 91-92.)

Father Grelon escaped the slaughter, and afterward went to China. Years later, on the plains of Tartary, he met a Huron woman whom he had known on the shores of Lake Huron. She had been sold from tribe to tribe until she had reached the steppes of Central Asia. (Shea, *Catholic Missions*, who cites Charlevoix, chapter V, page 45.)

At that time the Huron mission was destroyed, thirty villages were abandoned and the frightened Hurons fled across the waters to the islands and mainland of Lakes Huron, Superior and Michigan. In the massacre of March 16, 1649, Father John de Brebeuf, S. J., and on March 17, Father

Lallemant, S. J., were cruelly tortured to death. Father Allouez afterward found some of the Hurons at Chagaouamigong Bay and the Apostoles Islands, Lake Superior, in 1665.

1654. Two French traders (Pierre Esperit Radisson and Medard Chouart des Grocelliers), passed by way of Michilimackinac Island and Point Iroquois (St. Ignace) through the straits to Green Bay. They returned in 1656 with sixty canoes, loaded with furs, and a large party of Hurons and Ottawas, bound for the market at Three Rivers on the St. Lawrence.

1665. Nicolas Perot was the next known and recorded adventurer who made a canoe voyage through the Straits of Michilimackinac to Green Bay. From 1534 (up to this date) when Cartier explored the St. Lawrence and planted a colony far up in the interior of New France, that subsequently carried the fur trade to the banks of the Saskatchewan, there were Frenchmen in the province. Many of them were illiterate, and, of course, left no record. They were simply trappers and voyageurs. They mingled with the Indians, intermarried, and adapted themselves to the native mode of life. The Indians built forts surrounded by palisades of cedar, implanted in the ground, from twelve to twenty-five feet high, for protection against the assaults of other tribes. The French did the same, and taught the savages how to improve and better protect them. The voyageurs were the pioneers, the advance pickets of the coming host of European usurpers.

1668. The French continued to advance, as well as the English, Spanish, Dutch and Portugese into other parts of the continent, until, in 1668, they were found in the region of Michilimackinac controlling large and valuable missions under the Jesuits. With them the arts of a more civilized people prevailed to some extent, and the natives were brought to worship the God of the white man. About this time, 1668, New France was divided into the following provinces:

FRENCH PROVINCES.

(1) Hudson Bay.—All territory north of latitude 49° and west indefinitely.

(2) Quebec.—With Canada east, southward to the head of Lake Champlain, and westward to the headwaters of the Ohio.

(3) Michilimackinac.—The country west of Quebec and southward to and along the Ohio to the western boundary of what is now Minnesota, north to 49° and all the country drained into Lakes Superior and Huron. Acadia† (Nova Scotia). Cape Breton, New Foundland, et cetera, were also included in New France.

British America was then a strip of land between the Appalachian mountains and the Atlantic ocean.

SPANISH PROVINCES.

On the south of these were the Spanish possessions of Florida (Georgia included) and nearly all of the territory south of the Ohio, and the valley of the Mississippi as far as the mouth of the Illinois.

Vice-Royalty of Mexico.—Called New Spain, included all to the southwest of these and north as far as Cape Mendocino on the Pacific coast. All north of that cape was unexplored and unknown.

New Mexico.—Later, when the province of New Mexico was created, it extended to the Missouri river, north at the place of the Mandan Indians.

Louisiana, under the French, claimed all territory south of parallel 31° , east of the Mississippi and west of Georgia, and west of the Mississippi from its mouth to its source as far as the Pacific ocean. It trenched on the Spanish possessions of Florida and New Mexico.

1700. Province of Detroit.—That province was set off from Michilimackinac, and included all of Canada west above the Cataract of Niagara and north to Lake Huron, that part of Michigan south of Saginaw Bay, and most of Ohio and Indiana.

Detroit was settled in 1701 and in a few years became more important than Michilimackinac. Before that Michilimackinac had a history and afterward a separate history.

Michilimackinac.—Before and after these last dates the

†At first a region with undefined and disputed boundaries between latitude 40° to 60° north.

capitol and metropolis of the Province of Michilimackinac was on the island of the same name, in the Straits of Michilimackinac. It was not only the seat of justice and base of supplies, but the center of trade of a vast territory. It was the headquarters of French traders and trappers and their *coureur de bois* and white and Indian employees. The little island was well known and gave its name to the extensive Province of Michilimackinac.

Indian language.—All Indian languages, Algonquin, or others, and the dialects of the various tribes and bands of tribes, were, as a rule, better spoken and more clearly understood by educated white people than by the natives themselves. There is nothing singular about this; it is so the world over with all intelligent peoples.

The Chippewas and Ottawas are of Algonquin lineage and consequently their language is a dialect. Chippewa and Ottawa are much alike so that the two dialects are called one tongue or language. Chippewa is a wonderful regular and expressive language. It abounds in verbs; nine-tenths, if not more, of its words are verbs, only two of which are irregular. Many of the words, though expressive, are long on account of adding new syllables to the various moods, tenses, and participles of the verbs and of the compounding of words from two or more roots. There are words that have from eight to ten and as many as nineteen syllables. For instance: "Metchikmakobidjiganikewininiwissigobaneag," a participle meaning, "men who perhaps did not build fences." Such a word would be a nut for a German savant to crack. Just one more for our friends at the head of Lake Michigan: Chicago—strong, bad-smelling onion or garlic, skunk; Ottawa, she-gog-oug, locative case of shegog, "skunk;" nominative, she-gog; locative, she-gog-oug; objective, she-gog or she-gog-won. This ancient tongue has many words and syllables that are radical, resembling those of Asiatic and European languages, and some have the same meaning. It is a "living, acting language; everything in it seems to live and act." See Bishop Baraga's Grammar and Dictionary of the Otchipwe language.

Michilimackinac.—The name of the Province of Michilimackinac, is as before stated, the one given by the savages

as rendered by the French to the island in the straits now called Mackinac.

Michili-Mackina c, terminal c silent, a broad, pronounced in English—Mackinaw. There is no w in the French alphabet. In Mackina ck the terminal c and k are both silent, and the k is superfluous. It is the French rendering from the Chippewa and Ottawa dialet of Algonquin. The early French who got the name from the Indians spelled it in various ways, and so did the English, but always so as to get the present pronunciation, Mackinaw, Macquina, Macina, Macina c. The French being the first dominants, their spelling prevails, but the pronunciation is the same in French and English—Mackina c, final c silent. In place of w beginning a word, the French use ou, as Ouisconsin, English—Wisconsin.

Michilimackinac is claimed to be derived from the Indian words Michi, "great," and Mackinac, "turtle," and Mitchanemack-e-nong, "great turtle," from a fancied resemblance to a large mud turtle; also from the Chippewa Mi-chi-ne Mau-kinouk, the two meaning "the place of giant fairies." Schoolcraft says there is another meaning besides "great turtle." It also means "spirits," or "fairy spirits." The spirits were wont to take the form of a turtle and become "turtle spirits."

The nine Iroquois tribes were divided into two divisions of four and five tribes each. The first of the four tribes was called Antiniathan, and known as the Tortoise tribe. "It is the first because they pretend when the Master of Life made the Earth, that he placed it on a tortoise; and when there were earthquakes it is the tortoise that stirs." (1666, Paris Loc. I.)*

Some of the Huron bands had for totems the tortoise, bear and plover. The bear was brother to the tortoise, as with the Iroquois.

Macka-de-pe-nessy (Blackbird), an Indian interpreter and son of an Ottawa chief, says that Mi-she-mi-ki-nock (Chippewa) does not mean "large turtle" nor "monstrous large turtle." Michilimackinac is not derived from "Michimickinock."

When the Ottawas discovered the Island of Michilamackinac, long before the Spaniards first came to America, it

*Documentary History of New York, Volume 1, page 3.

was inhabited by a small remnant, independent tribe, which became confederate with the Ottawas.

The Ottawas were then living on the Manitoula Island, Lake Huron. Their enemies, the Iroquois, of New York, often made war on them. Once in the dead winter the Ottawas were having a great jubilee and war dances on Manitoulin Island to celebrate their victory over the Winnebagoes of Ouisconsin, when the Iroquois swept down upon them and annihilated all but two. These two, a young man and maiden escaped, and traveled over the ice to Michilimackinac Island with inverted snow shoes. That was done to prevent their tracks being followed. They made their hiding place in the natural caves of the island. They selected the wildest part of the forest and lived in seclusion. They were occasionally seen, and, in time, they raised a family of ten children, all boys. One winter the whole family vanished in some mysterious way. Ever since the Ottawas and Chippewas have called them "Paw-gwa-tchaw-nish-naw bay," "Wild roaming supernatural being." To this day they are in existence, roaming in the wildest part of the island and on the mainland. They can be seen, or unseen, just as they, as spirits, please. Sometimes they will throw a stone or a war club at a person walking in a lonely place, at other times they will throw at your dog and set him to barking with fright. Again, they will, in day or night, throw clubs at a lodge in a lonely place, and have been heard walking around the wigwam. They have been tracked over the snow by hunters, but never overtaken. An Indian or hunter walking or hunting alone, will apprehend some great evil, and be seized with an unearthly fright that makes him shiver from head to feet, and the hairs on his head stand up like porcupine quills. You are benumbed with terror by these spirits, the sensation is so awful. But they never harm anyone.

When an Indian recovers from a spell he generally exclaims, "Pshaw! there is nothing to fear, it is Paw-gwa-tchaw-nish-naw-bay approaching me, he wants something." They then leave tobacco, powder or something else in their tracks that the spirits fancy when in the flesh. If they appear and talk to you they always begin with a sad tale of the great catastrophe on the Island of Mackinac, and who-

ever is so fortunate as to see and talk to them, always becomes a prophet to his people.

Reader, if you are imaginative, and seek these lonely woods and caves alone, and the proper spell comes over you, perhaps you may see those spirit fairies face to face, and learn of them their tragic fate. Therefore, according to understood traditions, the tribal name of those people was Michine-macki-naw-go, which is to this day a monument to their existence. The Ottawas and Chippewas named their little island Mi-shi-ne-macki-nong, in memory of their former confederates. It is the locative case of the Indian noun, Michinemackinawgo, from which the name Michilimackinac originated. It is said that some of the paleface chiefs, tourists of the present day, vie with the Indians of the Fairy Isle, and induct the spirits from their secluded abodes into their corporeal forms. They tell us that the island is truly a resort that revels with spirits of the departed.

We here dish up as a salad, for relish and variety, some of the renderings of the name:

"Missilimackina." "Missilimakenak."
 "Missilimaquina." "Missilimackinak."
 "Missilimaquine." "Missilimacknae."
 "Michilimaquina." "Missilimackinac."
 "Michilimachina." "Michilimackinac."
 "Mackina." "Machinac."
 "Macina." "Mackinaw."
 "Maquina." "Mackinac."

If you only got the "nac" right, you will know how to "na c" ("naw") the name.

1653. We drop back a few years, to 1653, when the Iroquois invaders, eight hundred strong, passed the Straits of Michilimackinac to attack the Hurons at Green Bay. They laid siege to the place for a protracted time, but failed to capture the fort. The Iroquois then broke up into two divisions, one marched south and the other sailed northward through Lake Michigan. The first division met the Illinois and were cut down and captured by them. The Lake Michigan division met the same fate from the Chippewas, Missisaki and other ("Nigik") tribes on Lake Huron.

1660. Looking forward from our last date we find Father

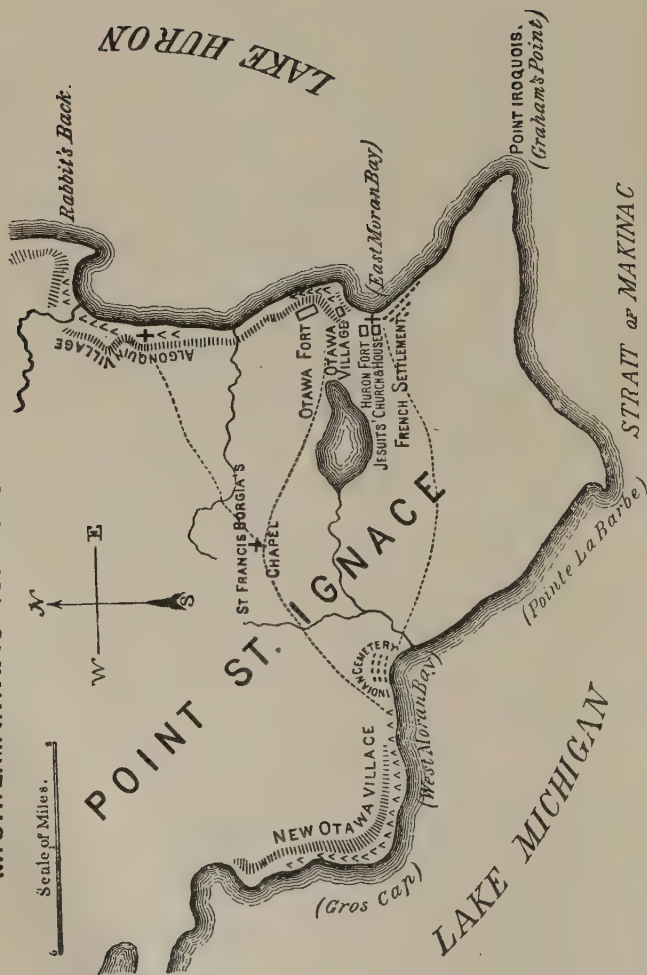
Reni Menard, S. J., on October 15, at Keewenaw Bay, Lake Superior. He perished or was killed at the head waters of Black River, Ouisconsin, about August 10, 1661.

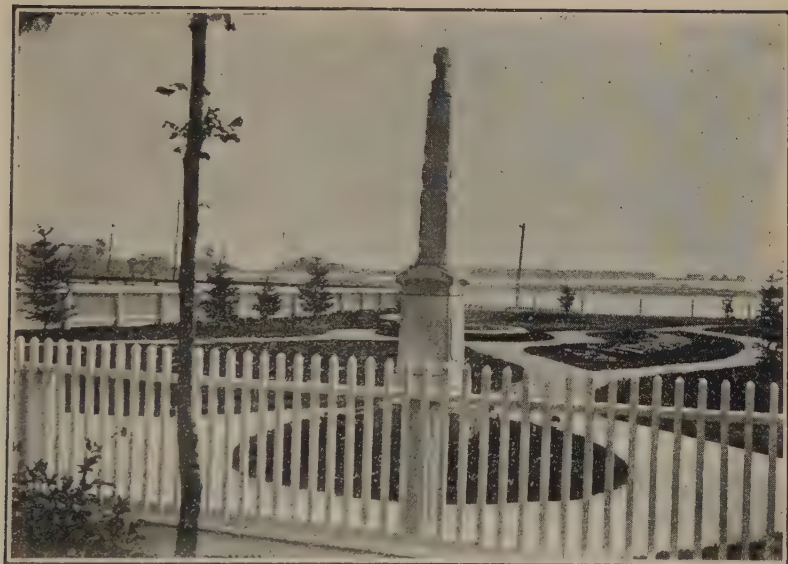
1610. Michili-Mackina, and its Island was known to Champlain in 1610, through the Indians of the Lakes, also the copper of that region. French trappers and voyageurs had visited the upper lakes and the Saskatchewan at, even, an earlier period.

1695. Early records confirm the statement that Frenchmen were at Green Bay, Lake Superior, Sault Ste. Marie (So) and Michilimackinac before the visits of the "black-gowns" mentioned by Bancroft. They came one year and returned the next (on their tours of trade and barter) with flotillas of canoes richly laden with furs, often convoyed by Huron and other Algonquins, in bands, from three hundred to five hundred strong. The Indians would make their long voyage in large numbers, united to defend themselves from their enemies, the Iroquois.*

*Drawn from Historical and Biographical Notes, and Relations, 1660-1663, and other sources.

MICHILIMAKINAC 1671-1705.





MARQUETTE'S GRAVE

ST. IG-NACE DE MICHILIMACKINAC, 1669-1889.

We find Father Allouez at the Mission of the Algonquin Outaouacs (Ottawas) (La Pointe du Saint Esprit), on Lake Superior in the Province of Michilimackinac, in 1669. That year he went down to Quebec and turned over to Monsieur de Courcelles some Iroquois captives whom he had redeemed of the Outaouacs. Father Claude Dablon was sent to the Superior Missions and Allouez went to Sault Ste. Marie, and remained there until November 3, 1669. He then departed for Bay of the Puants (Green Bay), by way of the island of Michilimackinac, arriving December 2, 1669.

1669. Michilimackinac Island was occupied and abandoned (for reasons of safety) by different bands of Indians from time to time, long before this period. It had often been passed and visited by French traders and was well known. It was there the mission of St. Ignatius was founded before it was established at Point St. Ignace. "The Hurons settled on the famous Island of Missilimackinac where we commenced last winter the mission of St. Ignace."*

*Missionary Labors of Marquette, Menard and Allouez, Chapter XXIX, page 114. Reverend Chrysostem Verwyst, O. S. F.

1670. Marquette, in his letter from Mackinac Island, published in this volume, writes: "We ourselves have also wintered here [Michilimackinac Island], in order to make arrangements for establishing the Mission of St. Ignace." It shows that he was on the island, with Dablon in the winter of 1669-70, and that some of the Indians from La Pointe, Lake Superior, "were already there," St. Ignace.

1904. St. Ignace, though old, is in many respects new, and bids fair to be a resort for tourists and a sanitarium, sharing the laurels, as it does its history, with the famous "Fair Isle," opposite. The city has a population of about 2,500, an electric light plant and a system of water works that supplies the purest water on the globe. The scenery is fine. One can drive many miles over magnificent roads, constructed of corniferous limestone which forms bluffs and fantastic, wierd rocks like those of Mackinac Island.

FATHER MARQUETTE AT ST. IGNACE.

"The *Hurons of the Tobacco tribe, called Tionnontate, having been formerly driven from their country by the Iroquois, fled to this Island, named Missilimackinac, so famous for its fishery. They could only stay a few years, however, the very same enemies obliging them to leave this very advantageous post. They withdrew therefore, still further to the islands which still bear their name, and are located at the entrance of the Bay of Puants. Not finding themselves sufficiently safe, however, even there, they went far back into the woods, and from there finally chose as their last dwelling-place the extremity of Lake Superior, in a place called La Pointe du Saint Esprit. There they were far enough away from the Iroquois not to fear them, but they were too near the Nadouessi, who are, as it were, the Iroquois of these quarters of the North, being the most powerful and warlike people of this country.

"Still all proceeded peaceably enough for several years until the last (1671), when the Nadouessi having been irritated by the Hurons and Outaouacs, war broke out between them, and it began so furiously that several prisoners taken on both sides were consigned to the flames.

*Relations of 1672, pages 35-36.

"The Nadouessi, however, did not wish to begin any act of hostility until after they had returned to Father Marquette some pictures of which he had made them a present, so as to give them some idea of our religion and thus to instruct them by the eye, as he was unable to do otherwise on account of their language, which is altogether different from the Algonquin and Huron.

"Enemies so formidable soon struck terror into the hearts of our Hurons and Outaouacs, who determined to abandon La Pointe du Saint Esprit and all the fields they had so long cultivated.

"In their flight the Hurons, remembering the great advantages they had formerly found at Missilimackinac, turned their eyes thither, as to a place of refuge, which they actually reached a year ago.

"This place has all the advantages that can be desired by Indians. Fish is abundant there at all seasons, the land is productive, and the chase for bear, deer and lynx is carried on with great success. Besides it is the great rendezvous of all the tribes who are going to or coming from the north or south.

"For this reason, foreseeing what has since actually taken place, we erected a chapel there last year already, in order to receive those passing by and to attend to the Hurons, who have settled there.

"Father Marquette, who has followed them from La Pointe du Saint Esprit, still has charge of them."*

Marquette left La Pointe in the spring of 1671. He did not reach Sault Ste. Marie in time for the great gathering of tribes (that year June 14), to make a treaty with the French. When he reached Missilimackinac (Point St. Ignace) he found "a chapel built the winter before by Father Dablon, also three hundred and eighty-six Christian Hurons and sixty Ontaonacsinagaux." (See Historical and Biographical Notes.)

Marquette must have been on the island of Michilimackinac in 1670, as he passed a winter there before he planted his mission at Point Iroquois (St. Ignace) or North Michili-

*Relations, pages 115-116.

mackinac. He lived on the island (Mackinac) whilst he was building the chapel and preparing for his colony.

The following is an extract from a letter of Jaques Marquette written on Mackinac Island in 1670. (See *Relations des Jesuits*, 1671):

“Michilimackinac is an island famous in these regions, of more than a league diameter, and elevated in some places by such high cliffs as to be seen more than twelve leagues off. It is situated just in the straits forming the communication between Lake Huron and Illinois [Michigan]. It is the key, and, as it were, the gate for all the tribes from the south, as the Sault is for those from the north, there being in this section of country only those two passages by water; for a great number of nations have to go by one or the other of these channels in order to reach the French settlements.

“This presents a peculiarly favorable opportunity, both for instructing those who pass here, and also for obtaining easy access and conveyance to their places of abode.

“This place is the most noted in these regions for the abundance of its fishes; for, according to the Indian saying ‘this is the home of the fishes.’ Elsewhere, although they exist in large numbers, is not properly their ‘home,’ which is in the neighborhood of Michilimackinac.

“In fact, besides the fish common to all the other tribes, as the herring, carp, pike, gold-fish, white-fish and sturgeon there are found three varieties of the trout,—one common, the second of a larger size, three feet long and one foot thick, the third monstrous, for we can not otherwise describe it, it being so fat that the Indians who have a peculiar relish for fats, can scarcely eat it. Besides, the supply is such that a single Indian will take forty or fifty of them through the ice with a single spear in three hours.

“It is this attraction which has theretofore drawn to a point so advantageous the greater part of the savages in this country, driven away by fear of the Iroquois. The three tribes at present living on the *Bay des Puants* [Green Bay] as strangers, formerly dwelt on the main land near the middle of this island—some on the borders of Lake Illinois, others on the borders of Lake Huron. A part of them, called *Sauteurs*, had their abode on the main land at the west, and

the others looked upon this as their country for passing the winter, when there are no fish at the Sault. The Hurons, called *Etonotathrounons*, had lived for some years in the same island, to escape the Iroquois. Four villages of Ottawas had also their abode in this quarter.

"It is worthy of notice (see page 26) that those who bore the name of the island, and called themselves Michilimackinac, were so numerous that some of the survivors yet living here assure us that they once had thirty villages, all inclosed in a fortification of a league and a half in circuit, when the Iroquois came and defeated them, inflated by a victory they had gained over three thousand men of that nation, who had carried their hostilities as far as the country of the *Agnichronnons*.

"In one word, the quantity of fish, united with the excellence of the soil for Indian corn, has always been a powerful attraction to the tribes in these regions, of which the greater part subsist only on fish, but some on Indian corn. On this account, many of these same tribes, preceiving that the peace is likely to be established with the Iroquois, have turned their attention to this point, so convenient for a return to their own country and will follow the examples of those who have made a beginning on the islands of Lake Huron, which by this means will soon be peopled from one end to the other, an event highly desirable to facilitate the instruction of the Indian race, whom it would not be necessary to seek by journeys of two or three hundred leagues on these great lakes, with inconceivable danger and hardships.

"In order to aid the execution of the design, signified to us by many of the savages, of taking up their abode at this point, where some have already passed the winter, hunting in the neighborhood, we ourselves have also wintered here, in order to make arrangements for establishing the Mission *St. Ignace*, from whence it will be easy to all the Indians of Lake Huron, when the several tribes shall have settled each on its own lands.

"With these advantages, the place has also its inconveniences, particularly for the French, who are not familiar as are the savages, with the different kinds of fishery, in which the latter are trained from their birth; the winds and the tides occasion no small embarrassment to the fishermen.

"The winds: For this is the central point between the three great lakes which surround it, and which seem incessantly tossing ball at each other. For no sooner has the wind ceased blowing from Lake Michigan than Lake Huron hurls back the gale it has received, and Lake Superior in its turn sends forth its blast from another quarter, and thus the game is played from one to the other; and as these lakes are of vast extent, the winds can not be otherwise than boisterous, especially during the autumn."

Digressing from the mission of St. Ignace we came to an event connected therewith, at Sainte Marie du Sault, in the spring and summer of 1671, that was intended for a master stroke of diplomacy. If it had continued for any length of time the results would have been far-reaching, so as to have made the French domain permanent in North America. It was a gathering of the tribes and bands from all directions to take part in a general council at the Sault to consider a treaty with the representative of the French court, and to place the Indians under the protection of the King of France.

We quote extracts from Memoirs of Nicolas Perot, the account of that mass meeting, as given by Reverend Chrysostom Verwyst, O. S. F., in *Missionary Labors, et cetera*:

GREAT MASS MEETING AT SAULT STE. MARIE IN 1671; NAMES
OF THOSE WHO SIGNED THE TREATY;
PERROT'S ACCOUNT.

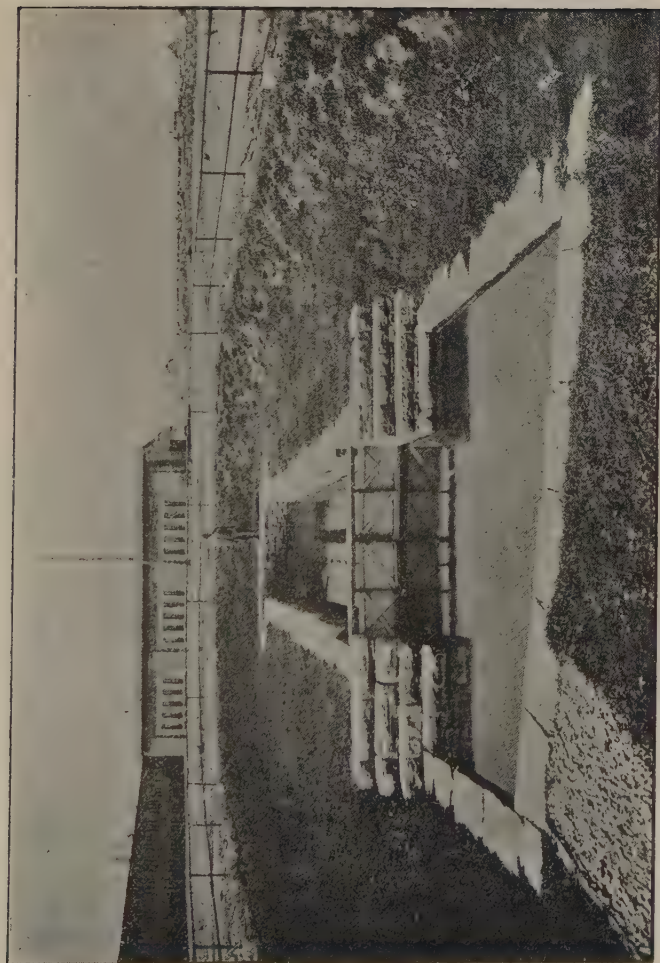
"The treaty was signed in the presence of Dablon,¹ Superior of the mission, and his colleagues, Dreuilletes, Allouez,² Andre of the Society of Jesus; Nicolas Perrot,³ interpreter; Sieur Jolyet;⁴ Jacques Mograss of Three Rivers; Pierre Moreau, the Sieur de la Taupine; Denis Masse; Francois de Chavigny, Sieur de la Chevrottiere; Jacques Lagillier, Jean Mayserre, Nicholas Dupuis, Francois Bibaud, Jaques

¹ Dablon and Dreuilletes were stationed at Sault, though Dablon spent a part of the winter of 1670-71 at Mackinac, building a rude bark chapel there.

² Allouez and Andre were stationed at Green Bay, Andre having charge of the missionary stations at the head of said bay, while Allouez attended the island missions.

³ Nicolas Perrot, the author of the "Memoire," held several offices under the Canadian government, was "Coureur de bois," interpreter, and kind of governor or commandant at Green Bay, between 1665-1701.

⁴ Jolyet accompanied Father Marquette upon his voyage of discovery and exploration down the Mississippi.



OLD HUDSON BAY FUR COMPANY'S LOCK IN THE CANADIAN SOO

Joviel, Pierre Porteret,⁵ Robert Duprat, Vital Driol, Guillaume Bonhomme." (Margry, Volume I, page 97.)

Nicolas Perrot says:⁶

"When the latter had arrived, he asked me if I would like to go to the Outanouas, as interpreter, and conduct there his subdelegate, whom he would place there to take possession of their country. I informed him that I was always ready to obey him, and offered him my services. I left, therefore, with the Sieur de Saint Lussou, his subdelegate, and we arrived at Montreal, where we remained until the beginning of the month, October [1670]. We were obliged on our way to winter with the Amikouets [Beaver Indians]. The Saulteurs [Chippewas of Sault Ste. Marie] also wintered at the same place and secured more than two thousand four hundred elks on an island called the 'Island of the Outaouas' [Mantoulin Island], which extends the length of Lake Huron, from the point opposite St. Francis River to that of the Missisakis, going towards Michilimakinak. This extraordinary chase was nevertheless only made with snares.

"On the 5th of the month of May, I went to Sault Ste. Marie with the principal chiefs of the Pouteouatamies, Sakis Puants [Winnebagoes], Malhommis [Menominees]. Those of the Foxes, Mascoutechs [Maskoutens], Kikaboos [Kickapoos¹] and Miamies did not pass the bay [Green Bay]. Among them was a man by the name of Tetinchoua, head chief of the Miamies, who, as if he were their king, had day and night in his wigwam forty young men as body-guard. The village over which he ruled had from four to five thousand braves; in one word he was feared and respected by all his neighbors.

"I found at my arrival, not only the chiefs of the north, but also all the Kiristinons [Crees], Monsonis and whole villages of their neighbors; the chiefs of the Nippissings were there also, besides those of the Amikoulets and all of the Saulteurs, who had their settlement in the place itself. The pole was erected in their presence and the arms of France attached to it with the consent of all the tribes,

⁵ Pierre Porteret accompanied Father Marquette on his last journey to the Illinois in 1674, and was present at his death on the eastern shore of Lake Michigan in 1675.

⁶ Memoire, pages 126-128.



FISHING IN THE SOO RAPIDS

who not knowing how to write, gave presents as their signatures, declaring in this manner that they placed themselves under the protection and obedience of the King. The Process-Verbal was drawn up in regard to this act of assuming possession, which I signed as interpreter, with the *Sieur de Saint Lussou*, subdelegate; the Reverend Missionary Fathers *Dablon*, *Allouez*, *Dreuilletes* and *Marquet* signed lower down, and below them the French who were trafficking in the various localities. This was done following the instructions given *M. Talon*. After that, all those tribes returned each to their country and lived several years without any trouble from one side or the other.

"I forgot to say that the Hurons and Outaouas did not arrive till after the act of taking possession, for they had fled from **Chagouamigon* [*Chequamegon*] on account of having eaten some Sioux, as I have related above. They were informed of what had lately been done and agreed, like the rest, to all that had been concluded and decided on."

COPY OF THE PROCESS-VERBAL OF THE TAKING POSSESSION OF
THE INDIAN COUNTRY.¹

Preliminary remarks of Father *J. Tailhan*, S. J., publisher and annotator of *Perot's Memoire*.

"The Relation of 1671 [see text] and *La Potherie* (II, page 128-130) contain many details in regard to this act of taking possession omitted by *Perrot*, to which the reader is referred. I will merely give here the unpublished Process-Verbal of that ceremony, after the somewhat incorrect copy deposited in the archives of the marine. * * * The passages suppressed and replaced by the asterisk offer no historical interest; they are but simple protocols for useless repetitions."

**Chagouamigong*, pronounced *Sha-ga-wa-mi-gong*. To pronounce Indian words, observe that:

a is pronounced like a in father, far.

e is pronounced like a in way, say.

i is pronounced like ee in feel, seen.

o is pronounced like o in own, sown.

ou is pronounced like oo in foot, fool.

French ch is pronounced like sh in she, show.

kw is pronounced like q in queen.

¹*Memoire*, pages 292-294.

PROCESS-VERBAL.

"Simon Francois Daumont, esquire, Sieur de Saint Lusson, commissioned subdelegate of Monseigneur, the Intendant of New France. * * *

"In accordance with the orders we have received from Monseigneur, the Intendant of New France, the 3d of last July * * * to immediately proceed to the country of the Indian Outaouais, Nez-percez, Illinois, and other nations, discovered and to be discovered, in North America, in the region of Lake Superior or Mer-Douce [Huron], to make there search and discovery of mines of all sorts, especially of copper, ordering us moreover to take possession in the name of the king of all the country, inhabited or not inhabited, through which we may pass. * * * We, in virtue of our commission, have made our first disembarkment at the village or burg of Sainte Marie du Sault, the place where the Reverend Jesuit Fathers make their mission, and where the Indian tribes, called Achipoes, Malamechs, Noguets, and others make their actual abode. We have convoked there as many other tribes as it was in our power to assemble, and they met there to the number of fourteen tribes, namely the Achipoes,¹ Malamechs,² Noguets,³ Banabeoueks,⁴ Makomiteks,⁵ Poulteatemis,⁶ Oumaloumines,⁷ Sassanacottous,⁸ dwelling at the Bay called that of the Puants [Green Bay], and who have taken it upon themselves to make it [treaty] known to their neighbors, who are the Illinois,⁹ Mascoutins,¹⁰ Outagamis,¹¹ and other nations; also the Christinos,¹² Assinipouals,¹³ Aumossomiks,¹⁴ Ouauais-Couscottous,¹⁵ Nisacks,¹⁶ Maskwitkoukiaks,¹⁷ all of them inhabiting the countries of the North and near the sea, who have charged themselves with making it known to their neighbors, who are believed to be in great numbers dwelling near the shores on the same sea. We have caused this, our said commission, to be read to them in the presence of the Reverend Fathers of the Society of Jesus, and of all

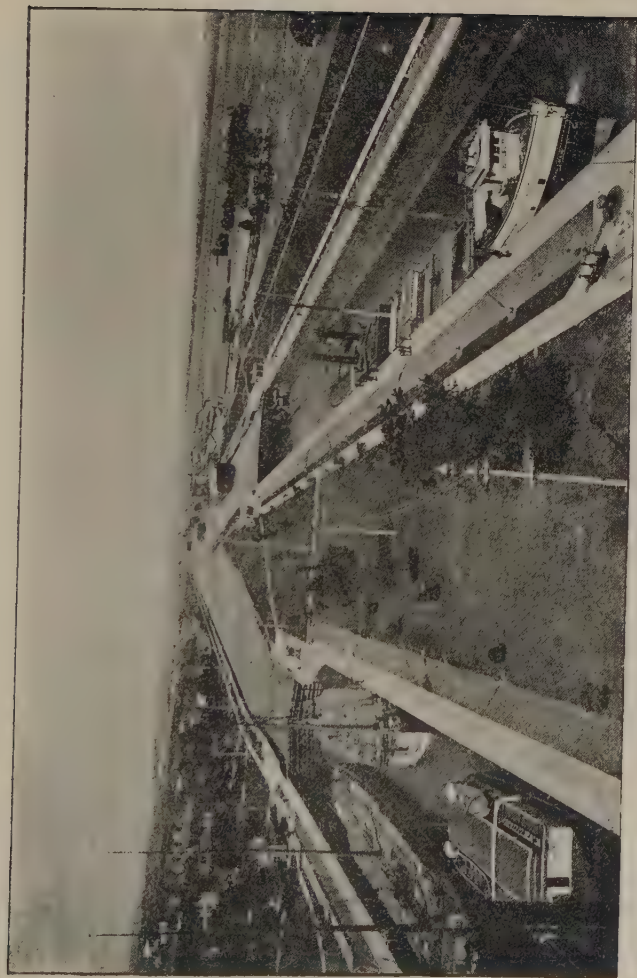
1Chippewas, 2Merameg, Man-um-alg, "Catfish," 3Noguets, No-kalg, "Bear Family or Clan," 4Ne-baun-aub-alg (?), "Merman Clan," 5Makomiteks (?), 6Pottawatamies, 7Menominees, 8Nassawaketous, "People of the Fork," 9Illinois, 10Maskontenig, Muskatine, Mushoda, "Prairie People," 11Foxes, 12Crees, 13Assineboines, "Stonycountry Sioux," 14Monsoneeg, "Moose," 15Ottawa Kiskakan (?) or Ataouabouskatouk, a Cree tribe, 16Kiskakons (?), 17Maskwakeeg (?), Foxes, or Mikikoueks.

the Frenchmen named below, and have had it interpreted by Nicolas Perrot, interpreter of His Majesty in this matter, in order that they may not be able (to claim) to be ignorant of it. Having then caused a cross to be erected to produce there the fruits of Christianity, and near it a cedar pole, to which we have attached the arms of France, saying three times with a loud voice and public proclamation, that **IN THE NAME OF THE MOST HIGH, MOST POWERFUL, AND MOST REDOUBTABLE MONARCH, LOUIS XIV OF NAME, MOST CHRISTIAN KING OF FRANCE AND NAVARRE,** we take possession of said place, Sainte Marie du Sault, as also of the Lakes Huron and Superior, the Island of Caientaton [Manitouline], and of all other lands, rivers, lakes and streams contiguous to and adjacent here, as well discovered as to be discovered, which are bounded on the one side by the seas of the North and West, and on the other side by the sea of the South, in its whole length or depth, taking up at each of the said three proclamations a sod of earth, crying, 'Vive le Roy!' and causing the same to be cried by the whole assembly, as well French as Indians, declaring to the said nations aforesaid and hereafter that from henceforth they were to be proteges (subjects) of his Majesty, subject to obey his laws and follow his customs, promising them all protection and succor on his part against the incursion and invasion of their enemies, declaring to all other potentates, sovereign princes, as well States as Republics, to them or their subjects that they neither can nor shall seize upon or dwell in any place of this country, unless with the good pleasure of his said most Christian Majesty, and of him who shall govern the land in his name, under penalty of incurring his hatred and the efforts of his arms. And that none may pretend ignorance of this transaction, we have now attached on the reverse side of the arms of France our Process-Verbal of the taking possession, signed by ourselves and the persons below named, who were all present.

"Done at Sainte Marie du Sault, the 14th day of June, in the year of grace 1671.

*"DAUMONT DE SAINT LUSSON."

*157 years after, Sept. 1828 to Sept. 1855, Rev. Abel Bingham (Baptist) was instructor and missioner to the Indians at the Sault (Soo.)



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF CANAL AND LOCKS AT SAULT STE. MARIE

(Then follow the signatures of the witnesses.)

After the congress at Sault Ste. Marie, Marquette returned with the Indians to Point St. Ignace of Michilimackinac. No account has been found of his first year's labors at that mission, but in the second year he wrote to Father Dablon, the following, translated from the French. [Shea's Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi]:

"REVEREND FATHER.—The Hurons, called Tionnontateronnons or Petun Nation, who compose the Mission of St. Ignatius at Michilimackinong, began last year near the chapel a fort inclosing all their cabins. They have come regularly to prayer, and have listened more readily to the instructions I gave them, consenting to what I required to prevent their disorder and abominable customs. We must have patience with untutored minds, who know only the devil, who, like their ancestors, have been his slaves, and who often relapse into the sin, in which they were nurtured. God alone can fix these fickle minds, and place and keep them in His grace, and touch their hearts while we stammer at their ears.

"The Tinonnontateronnons number this year three hundred and eighty souls, and besides sixty Oustaouasinagaux have joined them. Some of these came from the mission of St. Francis Xavier, where Father Andre wintered with them last year. They are quite changed from what I saw them at Lapointe. The zeal and patience of that missionary have gained to the faith those hearts which to us seemed most averse to it. They now wish to be Christians: they bring their children to the chapel to be baptized, and come regularly to prayers.

"Having been obliged to go to St. Marie du Sault with Father Allouez last summer, the Hurons came to the chapel during my absence as regularly as if I had been there, the girls singing what prayers they knew. They counted the days of my absence, and constantly asked when I was to be back. I was absent only fourteen days, and on my arrival all assembled at the chapel, some coming even from their fields, which are at a very considerable distance.

"I went readily to their pumpkin feast, where I instructed them, and invited them to thank God, who gave them food in plenty, while other tribes that had not yet embraced

Christianity were actually struggling with famine. I ridiculed dreams, and urged those who had been baptized to acknowledge Him whose adopted children they were. Those who gave the feast, though still idolaters, spoke in high terms of Christianity, and openly made the sign of the cross before all present. Some young men, whom they had tried by ridicule to prevent from doing it, persevered, and made the sign of the cross in the greatest assemblies, even when I was not present.

“An Indian of distinction among the Hurons, having invited me to a feast where the chiefs were, called them severally by name, and told them that he wished to declare his thoughts, that all might know it, namely, that he was a Christian; that he renounced the god of dreams all their lewd dances; that the black-gown was master of his cabin; and that for nothing that might happen would he forsake his resolution. Delighted to hear this, I spoke more strongly than I had ever yet done, telling that my only design was to put them in the way of heaven; that for this alone I remained among them; that this obliged me to assist them at the peril of my life. As soon as anything is said in an assembly, it is immediately divulged through all the cabins, as I saw in this case by the assiduity of some in coming to prayers, and by the malicious efforts of others to neutralize my instructions.

“Severe as the winter is, it does not prevent the Indians from coming to the chapel. Some come twice a day, be the wind cold, or what it may. Last fall I began to instruct some to make general confessions of their whole life, and to prepare others who had never confessed since their baptism. I would not have supposed that Indians could have given so exact an account of all that had happened in the course of their life; but it was seriously done, as some took two weeks to examine themselves. Since then I have perceived a marked change; so that they will not even go to ordinary feasts without asking my permission. I have this year baptized twenty-eight children, one of which had been brought from Ste. Marie du Sault, without having received that sacrament, as the Reverend Henry Nouvel informed me, to put me on my guard. Without my knowing it, the child fell sick; but God permitted that, while instructing in

my cabin two important and sensible Indians, one asked me whether such a sick child was baptized. I went at once, baptized it, and it died the next night. Some of the other children, too, are dead, and now in heaven. These are the consolations which God sends us, which make us esteem our life more happy as it is more wrecked.

"This, father, is all I have to give about this mission, where minds are now more mild, tractable, and better disposed to receive instruction, than in any other part. I am ready, however, to leave it in the hands of another missionary to go on your order to seek new nations toward the South Sea who are still unknown to us, and to teach them of our great God, whom they have hitherto unknown."

The French shared with others the idea of the Mississippi flowing into the Gulf of California, and in that way they could find a short passage to China.

In 1672 Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac, succeeded M. de Courcelles as governor of Canada. As soon as he arrived, M. Talon, the Intendant, laid before him the plan of exploring the Mississippi River. For this great undertaking they chose the Sieur Joliet, wishing to have Father Marquette accompany him. On the 8th of December, 1672, feast of the Immaculate Conception, Joliet arrived at St. Ignace (Michilimackinac), and told Father Marquette the joyful news of their appointment to visit and explore the Mississippi. The pious missionary was glad. For years he had longed for an opportunity to visit the "Great River." Ever since he had come to the Ottawa country he had invoked Mary Immaculate to obtain the grace for him to be able to visit the nations on the Mississippi. Now his prayer was about to be heard. He placed his intended voyage under the special protection of the Immaculate Mother of God, promising her that, should he be so happy as to discover the great river, he would call it Conception River and give the same name to the first Mission he would found among the Illinois. Five Frenchmen volunteered to share with Marquette and Joliet the hardships and dangers of so glorious an enterprise. The winter of 1672-3 was spent in making the necessary preparations for collecting information from the Indians. They drew up a map, on which they marked the course of the rivers they were to navigate,

the names of the tribes and localities through which they were to pass, and the course of the great river.

The following, from Marquette's own narrative, is published by Shea:

"The day of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, whom I had always invoked since I have been in this Ottawa country, to obtain of God the grace to be able to visit the nations on the river Mississippi, was identically that on which M. Joliet arrived with orders of the Comte de Frontenac, our governor, and M. Talon, our intendant, to make this discovery with me. I was the more enraptured at this good news, as I saw my designs on the point of being accomplished, and myself in the happy necessity of exposing my life for the salvation of all these nations, and particularly for the Illinois. who had, when I was at Lapointe du St. Esprit, very earnestly entreated me to carry the word of God to their country.

"We were not long in preparing our outfit, although we were embarking on a voyage the duration of which we could not foresee. Indian corn, with some dried meat, was our whole stock of provisions. With this, we set out in two bark canoes—M. Joliet, myself, and five men—firmly resolved to do all and suffer all for so glorious an enterprise.

"It was on the 17th of May, 1673, that we started from the mission of St. Ignatius, at Michilimackinac, where I then was. Our joy at being chosen for this expedition roused our courage, and sweetened the labor of rowing from morning till night. As we were going to seek unknown countries, we took all possible precautions, that, if our enterprise was hazardous, it should not be foolhardy. For this reason we gathered all possible information from Indians who had frequented those parts, and even from their accounts traced a map of all the new country, marking down the rivers on which we were to sail, the names of the nations and places through which we were to pass, the course of the Great River, and what direction we should take when we got to it.

"Above all, I put our voyage under the protection of the Blessed Virgin Immaculate, promising her, that if she did us the grace to discover the Great River. I would give it the name of Conception; and that I would also give that name

to the first mission which I should establish among these new nations, as I have actually done among the Illinois.

"With all these precautions, we made our paddles play merrily over a part of Lake Huron, and that of the Illinois, into the Bay of the Fetid [Green Bay]. The first nation that we met was that of the Wild Oats [wild rice]. I entered their river [Menominie] to visit them, as we have preached the gospel to these tribes for some years past, so that there are many good Christians among them.

"I informed these people of the Wild Oats of my design of going to discover the distant nations to instruct them in the mysteries of our holy religion; they were very much surprised, and did their best to dissuade me. They told me that I would meet nations that never spare strangers, but tomahawk them without any provocation; that the war which had broken out among the various nations on our route, exposed us to another evident danger—that of being killed by the war parties which are constantly in the field; that the Great River was very dangerous, unless the difficult parts are known; that it was full of frightful monsters, who swallowed up men and canoes together; that there is even a demon there who can be heard from afar, who stops the passage and engulfs all who dare approach; lastly, that the heat is so excessive in those countries that it would infallibly cause our death.

"I thanked them for their kind advice, but assured them that I could not follow it, as the salvation of souls was concerned; that for them I should be too happy to lay down my life; that I made light of their pretended demon, that we would defend ourselves well enough against the river monsters, and besides, we should be on our guard to avoid the other dangers with which they threatened us."

The following extracts are from *Memoirs of Pere James Marquette*, by John R. Bailey, M. D., A. A. Surgeon, U. S. Army. Published by direction of the Marquette Monument Association, Mackinac, Michigan, July 17, 1878:

"Leaving the bay they entered Fox River, about 260 miles long, where there were many birds feeding on wild oats. Advancing up the river they passed the rapids and approached Maskoutens, where they arrived June 7, 1673.

June 10. Taking two Algonquin guides they started for a river, the Misconsing (Wisconsin), three leagues off, that emptied into the Mississippi. The guides took them safely to a portage twenty-seven hundred paces long, and helped to transport their canoes to the river and returned home. * * *

"They sailed down the broad Wisconsin past alternate prairies and hillsides towards the great river Mississippi, which they entered June 17, with a joy that could not be expressed. Here the two birch-bark canoes raised their happy sails to unknown breezes and floated down the ocean stream, through prairies and forests, often meeting with the wild Illinois, Shawnees, Sioux and Chickasas (Marquette carrying the cross before him) frequently stopping to smoke the calumet, always striving to convert these strange people to the worship of the true Manitou and the Catholic faith.

"They reached the Now-in-gon-e-na (Des Moines), where Marquette stayed six days and published to the Illinois the true God, their Creator.

"Their great chief hung around Marquette the sacred calumet, which was the amulet of peace to all savage nations.

"The little group proceeded onward. * * *

"They passed the Missouri and in less than forty leagues floated past the Ohio to latitude 33°, where near the west bank of the 'great river' stood the village of Michigamea. * * * The next day ten men, in a wooden canoe, escorted the discoverers ten leagues to the village of Akansea below the mouth of the Arkansas river (opposite the mouth of that river), the end of their voyage." The fear of the Spaniards, and other causes, prevented the continuance of their discoveries. * * * Marquette and Joliet left Akansea July 17, 1673, and ascended the Mississippi.

"In latitude 38° 30' they entered the river Illinois. * * * A young chief conducted the party by way of the Illinois to Lake Michigan. In September all were safe at (the mission of St. Francis Xavier) Green Bay.

"Joliet returned to Quebec and announced the discovery, whilst Marquette remained to preach the gospel to the Indians. Being often sick with dysentery, and in feeble health,

he remained at the Green Bay mission until October 25, 1674, when he sailed for Chicago. Reaching that river, after suffering from much sickness and delays 'he was received as an angel from heaven.' He remained only a few months, imparting the gospel to the red men. May 18, 1675, his strength failing, he resolved to sail to the mission of St. Ignatius, Michilimackinac, and recruit his health in that salubrious clime.

"On the route he entered a little river in Michigan, and Bancroft says: 'Erecting an altar, he said Mass after the rites of the Catholic Church, then begging the men who conducted his canoe to leave him alone for half an hour:

" 'In the darkling wood,
Amidst cool and silence he knelt down,
And offered to the mightiest solemn thanks
And supplication.

" 'At the end of half an hour they went to seek him and he was no more. The good missionary, discoverer of a world, had fallen asleep on the margin of the stream that bears his name. Near its mouth the canoemen dug his grave in the sand. Ever after the forest rangers, if in danger on Lake Michigan, would invoke his name. The people of the west will build his monument.' "

Pere Jacques Marquette was born "in the city of Laon, in the Department of Aisne, France, June 1st, 1637. Nicolas and Rose de la Salle Marquette, had six children: Louis, Jean, Bertrand, Michel, Francoise, Marie and Jacques. * * * During the War of the Revolution three of the Marquettes died here, in the French army. Of the valor of the family there is no doubt. * * * Thus at the age of 38, May 19, 1765, in the height of his fame and glory, was the good priest taken away from earth to fill a brighter sphere in some celestial space. He was twenty-one years in the Society of Jesus—twelve in France and nine in America.

"God did not suffer the remains of Marquette to be forgotten. Two years later on the anniversary of his death, the Kiskakon Indians (Algonquins), and a number of Iroquois repaired to the spot and disinterred his body. Clean-

ing the bones, they placed them in a neat box of birch-bark and conveyed them to Point St. Ignace.

"The convoy consisted of thirty canoes. As they approached the mission of St. Ignace (Missilimackinac), Fathers Nouvel and Pier-son met them and intoned the 'De Profundis,' in the sight of all the people, before landing. The body remained in state, in the church, all day Whitsun-Monday, June 8, 1677, and the next day was deposited with funeral honors in the little vault under the church, where he now reposes, the 'guardian angel of the Ottawa Mission,' opposite the beautiful island of Mackinac, the home of the 'Great Manitou,' and of the 'spirits' whom the Indians delighted to worship.

"May 4, 1877. The foundations of the old church were discovered on private claim No. 19, Mr. David Murray's property, at Point St. Ignace, and September 3, 1877, a part of the remains of Marquette, in the vault, inclosed in the bark casket described. * * *



From a photograph of Statue in Old Hall of Representatives, Capital at Washington, D. C.

"Now let the people of America and Europe unite without distinction of race, creed or sect, and build a shapely monument to the great and good missionary whose fame and Christian virtues we can only emulate.

"Mackinac, Michigan, July 17, 1878."

One thousand copies of the memoir were ordered printed and distributed by the Monument Association at their first meeting on Michilimackinac Island, August 8, 1878.*

The old Fort garden in front of Fort Mackinac, Mackinac Island, is now (1904) being laid out and has been named Marquette Place by the State Park Commission. The monument is to be erected.

1673. The year that Marquette embarked on his voyage of discovery, the French established a palisaded fort at Point St. Ignace. It was situated on an elevation in the rear of the church, facing the bay, and was surrounded by a trench and stockade of cedar pickets. The outlines of the trench are visible to this day, and helped to verify in 1878, the site of the old church and Marquette's grave, where the modern monument now stands. It was soon afterwards garrisoned by French regulars in addition to the militia force. That was the first Fort at Michilimacquinac Fort de Buade and must be the one re-garrisoned after the Jesuits burned the church, abandoned the mission in 1705 and returned to Quebec.

Marquette, as before stated, passed the winter of 1670-71 on Mackinac Island (with Father Dablon, who was there in 1669), laying the foundation of the St. Ignace mission. (Relations, 1670-71, page 144).

In June, 1671, the Tionnontate Hurons arrived at St. Ignace from Chagaouamigong Bay, Lake Superior. That year the Manitoulin Ottawas procured a supply of arms and powder from Montreal. In the fall they started on the war path to fight the Sioux ("Nadouis-Sioux, the enemies"). At St. Ignace the Hurons joined them, and at Green Bay the Pottawattomies and Sacs and Foxes. Numbering one thousand braves they passed through "Ouisconsin." to the St. Croix valley, and boldly attacked the Sioux. Repulsed, with great loss, and forced to retreat, in the snow towards the straits, their flight was covered by the Hurons, who bravely defended the rear losing many of their warriors. In the spring of 1673 Marquette states there were only three hun-

*A bronze statute will be unveiled in Marquette Place, Mackinac Island, August 4, 1909.

†The first Post of Michilimackinac, Fort de Buade.

dred and eighty Huron souls and about sixty Ottawas had lately joined them.

According to LaHontan, the Huron village and palisaded fort, constructed in 1672, was on the level ground around the middle of East Moran Bay, and continued there until



TEMPLE ROCK, GEBI-WAU-BECK, AT CLIFFSIDE, ST. IGNACE DE
MICHILIMACKINAC

that tribe, with other bands, about 1702, left for Detroit. He says, the "Ottawas fearing trouble with the Hurons began to fortify the neighboring bluff," north and back of what is now (1895) Cliffside and vicinity. There are remains there of an earthwork, supposed to be of Indian origin, and many of their spear-heads, flints, stone hammers and other relics, have been found thereabouts. On these premises at Cliffside,

St. Ignace, there is, in an inclosure of seven acres, all the natural scenery, except the arched rock, that can be found on Mackinac Island. In the yard, near the dwelling, there is a rock of the same formation as the island Sugar-Loaf, but not quite as broad at the base. It is the Temple or Ghost rock—"Gebi-wau-beck" (or "Chete")—of the Indians, and in front there is a flattened projection—their altar—where the savages were wont to worship and offer sacrifices. The credulous natives say the spirits still linger there, but we have never been able to see them.

After the departure of Marquette and Joliet from St. Ignace, Fathers Henry Nouvel and Phillip Pierson erected a more substantial log church and residence, protected by a palisade inclosure, twenty-five feet high.

In the spring of 1673 several bands, Ottawas and others (Algonquins), arrived and settled about Rabbit's Back, on the shores of Lake Huron. At that place, a little over two miles from the Huron settlement and church, another church, roofed with bark, was built. In 1677 there were one thousand three hundred souls at that mission (Algonquin Village), the principal band being Kishkakons (an Ottawa band).

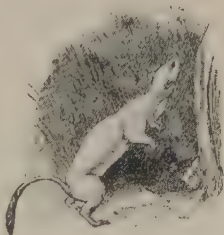
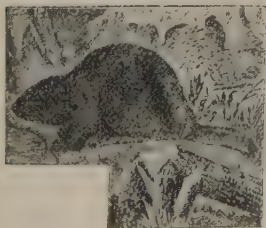
In 1677, or before, a new Ottawa Village was started between Point La Barbe and Gros-Cap, by the arrival of other bands of Algonquins. Near them a log chapel was built, the church of St. Francis Borgia, Father Nouvel in charge. During the winter of 1677-8, Father Enjalron lived, with Father Nouvel, in a rude wigwam adjoining the chapel. In 1669 there were fifteen hundred souls in that village. All Indian villages about the straits, unless fortified, were generally strung along the beach, in one or two lines, near or convenient to the water. That year Buisson de St. Come, missionary, and Henry de Tonty visited them. They walked through the portage to Gros-Cap, and sent their canoes around the point. St. Come was on a journey by way of Michilimackinac, to the Lower Mississippi, and mentions these facts in his journal.

From the time Father Allouez passed through the straits in 1669, en route to Green Bay, and visited Mackinac Island, the population of Point Iroquois (St. Ignace) was floating and not permanent until the mission was established. From

November 5 to 11, 1669, Allouez was windbound on Little St. Martin's Island. He crossed, St. Martin's Day, to the main land by way of Big St. Martin's Island, after the storm abated. Then he met some Indians and two Frenchmen, who tried to persuade him not to go to Green Bay so late in the season. (See *Journal of Allouez, Relations.*) Father Dablon, Superior of the Jesuits, selected Point St. Ignace for a mission, by reason of its position and superior advantages for defense, productive soil, game and fish.

In the spring of 1677 Father Nouvel took charge of the Ottawas and Father Pierson retained the Huron part of the mission of St. Ignace. Year after year there were the same movements of the bands of restless savages, and the annual trips to and fro of the French fur traders and Indians for the market of Montreal.

“For the structures that we raise,
Time is with materials filled;
Our to-days and yesterdays
Are the blocks with which we build.”





THE GRIFFON—FIRST VESSEL ON THE UPPER LAKES, BUILT BY LA SALLE, 1679.

LA SALLE AND HENNEPIN— VOYAGE OF THE GRIFFON, 1679

During the expedition of Marquette and Joliet, both kept journals. Joliet's was lost by the upsetting of his canoe in the St. Lawrence rapids, 1674, on his return to Quebec. The fame of their discovery fired the minds of the sanguine Frenchmen. Robert Cavelier de la Salle, in command at Fort Frontenac (Kingston) obtained a concession from Count Frontenac, and with his approval, another from the French King, which allowed him the exclusive trade in buffalo skins and all other articles (excepting the fur trade of the lakes), in the territory to be discovered.

Late in November he sailed from Fort Frontenac in a ten-ton vessel, fully equipped, with Tonty and a corps of mechanics and marines, across Lake Ontario to (Onghiarra) Niagara Falls. Here they disembarked near the foot

of the Falls and carried their merchandise, anchors, chains and provisions above the cataract, making a portage of at least twelve miles. That took them to where the current was less rapid. The thick forests, rugged heights, and deep snows caused this work to be delayed until the 22d of January, 1670. During the rest of the winter and early summer they built, at the mouth of Cayuga creek, a sixty-ton vessel, the Griffon. Here Father Louis Hennepin, who had been appointed acting missionary of the expedition, and two monks of the Franciscan order, joined them.

All being ready, whilst cannon were fired and the Te Deum chanted, on the 7th of August, 1679, the little craft unfurled her sails and swept boldly out on Lake Erie. There were thirty-four men all told on board, most of them fur-traders for the Mississippi valley.

In three days they made the length of the lake, over waters that had never before been sailed by so large a ship, and rounded northward "between the verdant isles of the majestic *de Troit*." On either side of the strait was an ever-varying panorama to delight the eye. Groves of trees and intervening prairies, forests and maple, beech, walnut, chestnut, oak and wild plum, with grapevines twining through their branches. There were herds of wild deer, bear and beasts of unknown names; flocks of wild turkeys, quail, grouse and other land and water fowl that made Hennepin, enraptured, exclaim "how extraordinarily relishing."

Detroit was then a wilderness, unsettled by white men. Up the river they sailed, and entered and crossed the shallow St. Clair Lake, and thence up through the next strait, and into broad Lake Huron.

Again they chanted the Te Deum and offered thanks to Almighty God for their prosperity. Gentle breezes wafted them onward until they neared the boisterous Saginaw, where they encountered a fierce gale that threatened to swallow the little ship and crew. The fury of the tempest made even La Salle quake with fear and call on all to commend themselves to heaven. But the godless pilot anathematized his commander "for having brought him, after the honor he had won on the ocean, to drown at last, ignominiously, in fresh water." They all clamored to the saints, and with La Salle and Hennepin, proclaimed St. Anthony their pa-

tron. The winds abated and the vessel "plunged on her way through foaming surges that still grew calmer as she advanced."

Thunder Bay was passed, and soon to the left the island of Bois Blanc (white wood) came in view, and on the right (east) in the dim distance, could be outlined the Manitoulins of Georgian Bay. Onward they sailed, and turning the foot of Bois Blanc, in front of them, to the westward, up loomed a highland ahead, "sitting like an emerald gem in the clear, pellucid wave, the rock-girt fairy isle of Michilimackinac." In the background, to the northward, was the Mission of St. Ignatius, nestling at the head of a small narrow bay, where they soon came to anchor near by.

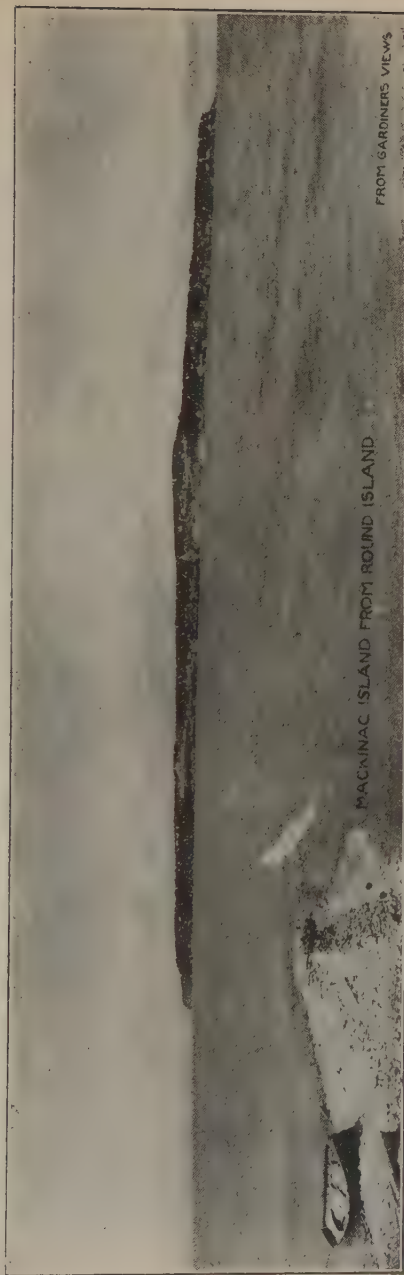
The following is Hennepin's:* "The 27th, 1679, in the morning, we continued our course northwest, with a south-east wind, which carried us the same day to Michilimackinac,† where we anchored in a bay at six fathom water, upon a shiny white bottom. That bay is sheltered by the coast and a bank lying from the southwest to the north; but it lies exposed to the south winds, which are very violent in that country.

"Michilimackinac is a neck of land to the north of the mouth of the strait through which the Lake of the Illinois discharges itself into Lake Huron. That canal is about three leagues long and one broad. * * *

"We lay between two different nations of savages. Those who inhabited the Point of Michilimackinac are called Hurons; and the others, who are about three or four leagues more northward, are Ottawas. Those savages were equally surprised to see a ship in their country; and the noise of our cannon, of which we made a general discharge, filled them with great astonishment. We went to see the Ottawas, and celebrated mass in their habitation. M. La Salle was finely dressed, having a scarlet cloak with a broad gold lace, and most of his men, with their arms, attended him. The chief captains of that people received us with great civilities, after

*Laluman says Hennepin was "Daring, vain and determined, ambitious to reap the glory of discovery and not too scrupulous as to the means."

†Now St. Ignace.



MACKINAC ISLAND FROM ROUND ISLAND

FROM GARDINER'S VIEWS

MACKINAC ISLAND, VIEW FROM ROUND ISLAND

their own way, and some of them came on board with us to see our ship, which rode all that while in the bay or creek I have spoken of. It was a diverting prospect to see every day, about six score canoes about it, and savages staring and admiring that fine wooden canoe, as they called it. They brought us abundance of whittings, and some trouts of fifty or sixty pound weight.

"We went the next day to pay a visit to the Hurons who inhabit a rising ground on a neck of land over against Michilimackinac. Their villages are fortified with palisades of twenty-five feet high, and always situated upon eminences or hills. They received us with more respect than the Ottawas; for they made a triple discharge of all the small guns they had, having learned from some Europeans that it is the greatest civility among us. However, they took such a jealousy to our ship, as we understood since, they endeavored to make our expedition odious to all the nations about them.

"The Hurons and Ottawas are in confederacy together against the Iroquois, their common enemy. They sow Indian corn, which is their ordinary food; for they have nothing else to live upon, except some fish they take in the lakes. They boil it with their sagamittee, which is a kind of a broth made with water and the flour of the corn, which they beat in a mortar made of the trunk of a tree, which they make hollow with fire."

La Salle remained at Michilimackinac until the second day of September, when he set sail for Green Bay. At this point, contrary to orders, he collected a cargo of furs, with which he dispatched the *Griffon* to Niagara, while he himself, with a part of his men, repaired in bark canoes to the head of Lake Michigan. Here he anxiously awaited the return of his little vessel; but, alas' he waited in vain. No tidings ever reached him of the ill-fated bark; and to this day none can tell whether she was swallowed in the depths of the lake, destroyed by Indians, or made the prize of traitors.

The loss of the *Griffon* was a severe stroke to La Salle; yet he was not discouraged. With inflexible energy, he pursued his course. From Lake Michigan he proceeded into the country of the Illinois, where he wintered. Early in the following spring he dispatched Hennepin to discover

the sources of the Mississippi,* while he himself returned to Canada for new supplies, made necessary by the loss of the *Griffon*. In 1681, he returned; and in 1682, having constructed a vessel of a size suitable for the purpose, he descended the Mississippi to the Gulf.

Having completed the exploration of the Great River, his next step was to plant colonies along its banks; for which purpose he labored, but with only partial success, until 1687, when he was assassinated March 19 by one of his own men.



SUCCESSOR OF THE GRIFFON, 1900

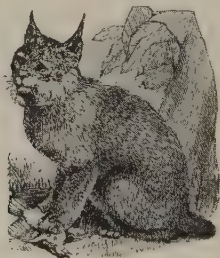
Taking the testimony of Holmes' American Annals, this fort at the trading-post, there 1669, probably before, was first established in 1673. Of the early history of this place, subsequent to La Salle's visit, we have only information gathered from the notices and writings of travelers and others.

In 1688, Baron La Hontan, an officer of rare accomplishments, visited this point, and from him we have the following:

"At last, finding that my provisions were almost out, I resolved to go to Michilimackinac, to buy up corn from the Hurons and Ottawas. * * * I arrived at this place on the 18th of April, and my uneasiness and trouble took date

*Hennepin ascended the river to St. Anthony's Falls in the Spring of 1680. He wintered 1680-81 at St. Ignace with Sieur du Luut (Duluth).

from the day of my arrival; for I found the Indian corn so scarce, by reason of the preceding bad harvests, that I despaired of finding half so much as I wanted. But, after all, I am hopeful that two villages will furnish me with almost as much as I have occasion for. Mr. Cavelier arrived here May 16th, being accompanied with his nephew, Father Anastase, the Recollet, a pilot, one of the savages, and some few Frenchmen, who made a sort of party-colored retinue. These Frenchmen are some of those that Mr. de la Salle had conducted upon the discovery of the Mississippi. They gave out that they were sent to Canada, in order to go to France, with some dispatches from Mr. de la Salle to the King; but we suspect that he is dead, because he does not return along with them. I shall spend time in taking notice of their great journey overland; which, by the account they gave, can not be less than eight hundred leagues.



Michilimackinac, the place I am now in, is certainly a place of great importance. It lies in the latitude of forty-five degrees and thirty minutes. It is not above half a league distant from the Illinese Lake, an account of which, and, indeed, of all the other lakes, you may expect elsewhere. Here the Hurons and Ottawas have, each of them, a village; the one being severed from the other by a single palisade; but the Ottawas are beginning to build a fort upon a hill that stands ten or twelve hundred paces off. This precaution

they were prompted to by the murder of a certain Huron, called Sandaouires, who was assassinated in the Saginaw River by four young Ottawas. In this place the Jesuits have a little house or college, adjoining to a sort of a church, and inclosed with poles that separate it from the village of the Hurons. These good fathers lavish away all their divinity and patience, to no purpose, in converting such ignorant infidels; for all the length they can bring them to is, that oftentimes they will desire baptism for their dying children, and some few superannuated persons consent to receive the sacrament of baptism when they find themselves at the point of death. The *Coueurs de Bois* have but a very small settlement here; though at the same time it is not inconsiderable, as being the staple of all the goods that they truck with the south and the west savages; for they can not avoid passing this way, when they go to the seats of the Illinese and the Oumamis, or to the Bay des Puants, and to the River of Mississippi. The skins, which they import from these different places, must lie here some time before they are transported to the colony. Michilimackinac is situated very advantageously; for the Iroqueuse dare not venture, with their sorry canoes, to cross the strait of the Illinese Lake, which is two leagues over; besides that the Lake of the Hurons is too rough for such slender boats; and as they can not come to it by water, so they can not approach it by land, by reason of the marshes, fens, and little rivers, which it would be very difficult to cross; not to mention that the strait of the Illinese Lake lies still in their way."

La Hontan afterward made a map showing the French and Indian villages, and the Jesuit establishment as they were in 1688.

1695, M. de la Mothe Cadillac, who founded Detroit, commanded at this post. He thus describes the place:

"It is very important that you should know, in case you are not already informed, that this village is one of the largest in all Canada. There is a fine fort (Fort de Buade) of pickets, and sixty houses that form a street in a straight line. There is a garrison of well-disciplined, chosen soldiers, consisting of about two hundred men, the best formed and most athletic to be found in this New World; besides many other persons who are residents here during two or three

months in the year. * * * The houses are arranged along

the shore of this great Lake Huron, and fish and smoked meat constitute the principal food of the inhabitants.

"The villages of the savages, in which there are six or seven thousand souls, are about a pistol-shot distance from ours. All the lands are cleared for about three leagues around their village, and perfectly well cultivated. They produce a sufficient quantity of Indian corn for the use of both the French and savage inhabitants."

In 1669, Cadillac, perceiving the importance of a fort on the de Troit, repaired to France to present the subject to the consideration of Count Ponchartrain, the

Colonial Minister. He was favorably received, and authorized to establish the proposed fort at the earliest date possible. This he accomplished in 1701.

With the exception of here and there a Jesuit missionary and a few half-savage *coureurs de bois*, the region around Michilimackinac was now forsaken by the French.

A dispute soon arose between Cadillac and the Jesuits, the former insisting upon a concentration of French interests in the west, at Detroit, the latter urging the French Government to re-establish Michilimackinac. The Jesuits did all in their power to prevent the Indians removing to Detroit, while Cadillac held out every inducement to prevail upon them to desert their villages and settle in the vicinity of the new fort, and so far succeeded that, in 1705, as we have seen, the Jesuits became discouraged, burned their church, and returned to Quebec. But, alarmed at this step, the Governor soon prevailed upon Father James Marest to return; and shortly after, the Ottawas, who were becoming dissatisfied at Detroit, began to move back to Michilimackinac.

Father Marest now did all in his power to prevail upon



CADILLAC

the French Government to send M. Louviguy, a former commander, with a few soldiers, to re-establish the fort at St. Ignace, but did not succeed until 1714, when the long wished for garrison and commander arrived, giving new life to the settlement.

In 1721 Father Charlevoix was at Michilimackinac (St. Ignace) and thus writes of it:

"I arrived the twenty-eighth (June) at this post, which is much declined since M. de la Mothe Cadillac drew to Detroit the greater part of the savages who were settled here, and especially the Hurons. Several Ottawas have followed them; others have dispersed themselves in the isles of Castor (Beaver Islands). There is only here a middling village, where there is still a great trade for peltry, because it is the passage or the rendezvous of many of the savage nations. The fort (at St. Ignace de Michilimackinac) is preserved and the house of the missionaries, who are not much employed at present, having never found much docility among the Ottawas; but the court thinks their presence necessary, in a place where one must often treat with our allies, to exercise their ministry among the French, who come hither in great numbers. I have been assured that since the settlement of Detroit and the dispersion of the savages occasioned thereby, many nations of the North, who used to bring their peltries hither, have taken the route of Hudson's Bay, by the River Bourbon, and go there to trade with the English; but M. de la Mothe could by no means foresee this inconvenience, since we were then in possession of Hudson's Bay.

"The situation at Michilimackinac is very advantageous for trade. The post is between three great lakes. Lake Michigan, which is three hundred leagues in compass, without mentioning the great bay that comes into it; Lake Huron, which is three hundred and fifty leagues in circumference, and which is triangular; and the Upper Lake, which is five hundred leagues."

Charlevoix, at the time of this visit, 1721, apparently describes the post and settlement of North Michilimackinac.

St. Ignace, as he says: "The fort is preserved, and the house of the missionaries," but does not allude to the church, as that burned in 1705. The movement of South Michilimackinac must have been gradual up to 1760, when the

Province of Michilimackinac was transferred to the British.

Extracts from letters of Ramezay and Begon to the French Minister dated Sept. 13 and 16, 1715, Vol. 35, C. 11, fol. 371.

"Captain D. Euchaillons, Lieutenant Lanour, and Ensign Belestre left Montreal last May with a sergeant and 20 soldiers who are to form the garrison of Michilimackina."

1909. This was for the Post of Michilimackinac, Fort de Buade, Point St. Ignace, and they were there in 1717, 1718, 1721, 1728 and after.

In 1681 La Salle, on his second voyage to the Mississippi, passed by way of St. Ignace. Then M. de Villeray was commandant at Post of Michilimackinac, Fort de Buade.

On account of Iroquois invasions the fur trade greatly declined in 1683.

1684. M. de la Durantaye was commanding at Missilimackinac. He led French and Indian forces, allied with Ottawas, in LaBarre's disastrous attack on the Iroquois.

In 1688 Michilimackinac was the commercial and military center of the Northwest. That year Nicolas Perot arrived and persuaded the Ottawas and Fox tribes (of Green Bay) to make peace. Perot rescued the daughter of a Chipewewa chief, whom the Foxes intended to burn at the stake, and returned her to her father.

1686. Many of the Indian bands favored the British and were inclined to unite with them and the Iroquois. The French had only a small force in the province of Michilimackinac, at that time, and having met with some reverses, the Indians, quick to discern, thought the British were better able to protect and provide for them. Their idea of prowess was favored by the arrival of merchants and traders, from the Province of New York, to buy furs, and whatever they had for sale. They were liberal, paid large prices for pelts, and supplied the tribes with liquor. All this was done with the knowledge and connivance of Governor Dongan, at Albany. A few extracts from the Documentary History of New York will partly show the situation:

"M. DE MEULLES TO THE MINISTER."

"My Lord * * * (Paris Doc. ii). "What Indians there were evidenced the best disposition to fight the Iroquois to the death. Sieur de la Durantaye who brought the

last six hundred men from Missilimakinak has informed us that he learned from a Miami chief that more than one thousand Illinois were coming to our aid on learning that we were about to fight the Iroquois, to such a degree are they their irreconcilable enemies."

* * * "Quebec, the 10th 8ber, 1684." (Volume I, pages 120, 127.) "Demeulles."

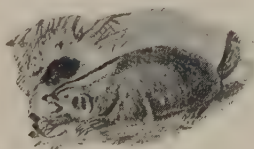
"GOV. DONGAN'S REPORT."

"To the committee of trade on the Province of New York, Dated the 22nd February, 1687."

(Lond. Doc. V.)

"My Lords" * * *

"The great difference between us is about the beaver trade and in truth they have the advantage of us in it @ that by noe other means than by their industry in making discoveries in the country before us. Before my coming hither noe man of my Government ever went beyond the Sinicaes country. Last year some of our people went a trading among the far Indians called the Ottawais inhabiting about three months journey to the West (a W. N. W.



of Albany from when they brought a good many beavers. They found their people more inclined to trade with them than the French, the French not being able to protect them from the arms of our Indians, with whom they have had continued war. Soe that our Indians brought away this very last year, a great many prisoners.

"Last week I sent some of our Indians to New York where when they came I obtained a promise from them that some of themselves would goe along with such of our people

as goe from Albany and Esopus* to these far nations @ carry with them the captives they have prisoners in order to the restoring them to their liberty. @ bury their hatchets with those of their enemies by which means a path may be opened for those far Indians to come with safety to trade at Albany, and our people goe thither without any let or disturbance." * * * [Volume I, pages 156-7.]

"It will be very necessary for us to encourage our young men to go a Beaver Hunting as the French doe. (page 158). I send a map by Mr. Spragg whereby your Lords may see the several Governments, etc. how they live where the beaver hunting is @ where it will be necessary to erect our country Forts for the securing of beaver trade @ keeping the Indians in community with us.

"Alsoe it points out where theres a great river discovered by one Lassal a Frenchman from Canada who thereupon went into France @ as its reported brought two or three vessels with people to settle there which (if true) will prove not only very inconvenient to us but to the Spanish alsoe (the river running all along from our lakes by the back of Virginia @ Carolina into the Bay of Mexico) @ its beleaved Nova Mexico can not bee far from the mountains adjoining to it that place being in 36d North Latitude if your Lops thought it fit I could send a sloop or two from this place to discover that river." * * * [Page 158.] "Theo. Dongan."

Page 187: "Memoirs Concerning the Present State of Canada. And The Measures That May Be Adopted For The Security Of The Country, 12 November 1685" [Extract, Paris Doc. iii, page 196].

"The most to be feared is the Iroquois who are the most powerful in consequence of the facility with which they obtain arms from the English, and the number of slaves they make daily among their neighbors by carrying away at an early age their children, whom they adopt; this is the only means of their increase, for this their debaucheries of Brandy which lead them into frightful disorders, the few children their women raise could not of themselves sustain

*Zopus, Esopus, Sopus: West side of Hudson near Kingston, about ninety miles from New York; five small towns, three thousand acres of manurable land.



WEST BLOCK HOUSE, FORT MACKINAC, BUILT BY THE BRITISH, A. D. 1780

them, if they did not make prisoners." * * * [Page 196].

"The importance of the post to be occupied on Lake Erie is easily perceived, since we can easily go in vessels from the Lake of Missilimackina which would be a great facility for the trade of the country, to keep the Outaouacs in check and in obedience to the King; besides, we should have the means of reaching through this lake to Illinois, and surmount by this communication with ships many of the difficulties experienced in the rivers in consequence of the number of portages. Being masters of these two lakes and cruising them with our vessels, the English would lose the Beaver in that quarter, of which they have abundance."



"A durable peace with the Iroquois Indians would be more advantageous to the colony than prosecuting a war;" * * * (page 198). "Chevalier de Tony" is commanding the fort in behalf of "M. de Lasalle," who has great influence with the Illinois. "M. de Ladurantaye" is sent to Lake Superior under orders from "M. de Labarre" and to "Sieur Duluth," who is at a great distance, beyond reach, so that neither can have news before next year, in July, and, many of their best men were with the Outaouacs.

"It is, also, necessary to reconcile six tribes of our allie's, that are at war, with each other, before making use of them. [Page 199]. "I sent presents and instructions to M. Ladurantaye to collect our" [page 200] "French and put himself at their head, in order to support his reasoning and to have more authority to reconcile them in concert with Father Angelblau Jesuit Missionary at Missilimakina." * * * [Page 201.] However, arrangements are not easily made "to secure punctuality." "since from the Illinois country

there are four hundred leagues;" and from the Outaouacs and Savages of Lake Superior, three hundred leagues, and from Quebec nearly two hundred, to the said place of Niagara." * * * [Page 202.]

"M. DE. DENONVILLE TO THE MINISTER. 8 MAY, 1686."
(Paris Doc. iii.)

"I learn that the news that I had the honor to send you of the appearance on Lake Ontario and Erie of English Canoes accompanied by French Deserters on their way to the Outaouacs is true. There are ten of them loaded with merchandise. Therefore, my Lord, I sent orders to Missilimakina, to Catarokony and other places where he had Frenchmen, to run and seize them." * * * [Page 203.]

"I regard, my Lord, as of primary importance the prohibition of this trade with the English, who without doubt, would entirely ruin ours by the cheaper bargains they could give the Indians and by attracting to them the Frenchmen of our Colony who are accustomed to go into the woods." * * * "I am persuaded that the Iroquois are very anxious for peace." * * * "What I should consider most effectual to accomplish this would be the establishment of a right good fort at Niagara." * * *

"M. DE DENONVILLE TO GOV. DONGAN."
(Paris Doc. iii, page 211.)

* * * "You are not ignorant of the expedition of your merchants against Michilimaquina." * * *

M. De Denonville's Memoir. [Page 213.]

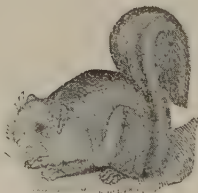
"On the Present State of Affairs In Canada And The Necessity Of Making War Next Year On The Iroquois."
(Paris Doc. iii.)

Quebec the 8th O'ber. 1686.

"I annex to this Memoir, the duplicate of the letter of June last in which I advised My Lord of the expedition of the Iroquois against our allies the Hurons and Ottawas of Missilimakina in the Saguinau. I have learned since that the English had more to do with that expedition than even the Iroquois who struck the blow. Their intrigues, My Lord

reach a point that without doubt it would be much better that they should have recourse to open acts of hostility by firing our settlements, than to do what they are doing through the Iroquois for our destruction." * * * [Page 213.]

* * * "Mr. Dongan, notwithstanding works secretly by all the artifices in the world to debauch our Frenchmen and Indians. Col. Dongan's letters will sufficiently explain his pretensions which embrace no less than from the Lakes inclusive to the South Sea. Missilimackinac belongs to them. They have taken its elevation. (Michilimackinac Island. B.) They have been there treating with our Ottawas and Huron Indians, who received them very well on account of the excellent trade they made there in selling their goods for beaver which they purchase much dearer than we. Unfortunately we had at that time but very few French at Missilimackinac. M. de la Durantaye on arriving there would pursue the English to plunder them; the Hurons ran to escort them after saying many bad things to us. M. de la Durantaye did not overtake the English who met on their way the Senecas going to meet them to escort them through Lakes Erie and Ontario until they were beyond the risk of being attacked by us."



"Thus you see, My Lord, that the Senecas and the English understood each other charmingly." [Pages 214-215.]

* * * * *

[Page 220]: "The letters I wrote to Sieurs du Lhu and de la Durantaye * * * will inform you of my orders to them to fortify the two passes leading to Michilimaquina. Sieur du Lhu is at the Detroit of Lake Erie, and Sieur de la Durantaye at that of the portage of Toronto. These two

posts will block the passage against the English if they undertake to go again to Michilimaquina, and will serve as retreats to the Savages or allies, either while hunting or marching against the Iroquois." * * *

[Page 224]: M. de la Durantaye is collecting people to entrench himself at Michilimaquina and to occupy the other pass which the English may take by Toronto the other entrance to Lake Huron. * * *

"THE M. DE DENONVILLE."

"M. DE DENONVILLE TO THE MINISTER."

(Paris Doc. iii).

Quebec 16th Nov., 1686.

"Since my letters were written. * * * a man whom I sent to Nauat * * * reports to me that the said Colonel" [Dongan] "has dispatched fifty citizens of Orange and Monat among whom are some Frenchmen, to winter with the Senecas, where they will depart, at the close of the winter, under the escort of the Senecas for Michilimaquina, carrying with them the Huron prisoners to restore them on the post of the English Governor, who desires to prevail on the Outaouas, by the service which he renders them, to abandon our alliance in order to attach themselves to the English. They carry an abundance of merchandise thither to furnish it at a much lower rate than we. [Pages 224-5.]

"M. DE DENONVILLE TO GOV. DONGAN. [Page 261.]

(Paris Doc. iii; London Doc. v)

"Aug. 22, 1687."

* * * "Nevertheless, Sir, whilst you were expressing these civilities to me you were giving orders and sending passes to dispatch canoes to trade at Missilimaquina where an Englishman had never set his foot and where we, the French, are established more than sixty years." (Missilimaquina Island before 1626 B.) * * *

"What have you not done, Sir, to prevent the Senecas surrendering to me the Outaouas and Huron prisoners of Missilimaquina whom they treacherously captured last year." * * *

"GOV. DONGAN TO DE DENONVILLE.

(Par. Doc. iii; Lond. Doc. v.)

8th Sept. 1687." [Page 266.]

"Sir—Yours of the 21st of August last I have received."

* * *

[Page 268]: "As for Major McGregorie and those others you took prisoners they had no passe from me to go to Missilmaquine but a pass to go to the Ottawawas, where I thought it might be as free for us to trade as you." * * * "Further you blame me for hindering the Sinakees delivering up the Ottawawas prisoners to you; this I did with good reason for what pretense could you have to make your application to them and not to me. Nevertheless I ordered Major McGregory to carry them to the Ottawawas and if your claim be only to Missilimquina what cause had you to hinder Magregory to go to the Ottawawas." * * *

"Project of the Chevallier De Callieres [page 285], Governor of Montreal and Commanding The Troops and Militia of Canada." &c.

"January, 1689." (Paris, Doc. iv.)

"TO MONSEIGNEUR THE MARQUIS OF SEIGNELAY."

* * * * *

"Chevalier Anders" [Governor General of New England and New York] "is a protestant as well as the whole English Colony so that there is no reason to hope that he will remain faithful to the King of England (James ii) and we must expect that he will not only urge the Iroquois to continue the war against us but that he will even add Englishmen to them to lead them and seize the posts of Niagara, Michilimackinac and others proper to render him master of the Indians, our allies, according to the project they have long since formed, and which they began to execute when we declared war against the Iroquois and when we captured 70 Englishmen who were going to take possession in Michilimackinac one of the most important posts of Canada; our" [page 286] "Entrepot for the Fur Trade and the residence of the Superior of the Reverend Jesuit Fathers, Missionaries among our Savages, and which belongs incontestably to us."

Frequent disputes were caused by the Duke of York

claiming, through his governors of the Province of New York (Wm. Tyron, and others), that his province overlapped that of New France, and the source of said claims. On page 740, Documentary History of New York, Governor Tryon's Report: "Question No. 2. What are the reputed Boundaries, and are any parts disputed and by whom? Answer: The Boundaries of the Providence of New York are derived from Two Sources" Grants from King Charles, 2nd, to his brother James Duke of York, & "Secondly from the Submission and Subjection of the Five Nations of Indians to the Crown of England." * * *

Page 743: "On the North A line from a point on the East bank of Lake Huron in the Latitude of Forty Five East to the River St. Lawrence, or the South Boundary Line of Quebec;" The Iroquois and Senecas came to Georgian Bay and Michilimackinac to hunt beaver, and, in connection therewith, would fight the Algonquin tribes of this vicinity, burn their villages, and carry off their women and children as captives, and vice versa.

The French and English (and the Spanish) were rivals in Europe and North America, so that the early history of this region is intimately connected, and often resultant, with the changes caused by the wars, intrigues, and diplomacy of European Courts. Those nations had their Indian allies, and the white governors (vandals), who represented them, in America, were generally the prime factors that lead to successive wars between the savages and the frequent massacres of European settlers who were unfortunate enough to be on the side of an opposing power. It was, truly, the survival of the fittest, and in the march of conquest the poor Indian is sure to be exterminated.

From 1714 to 1760 there is little recorded history of the Province of Michilimackinac, and of the region about the straits of the same name. The establishment of the Province of Detroit, and the withdrawal of the troops to the town of Detroit, on that strait, where many of the Indians followed, caused a diversion of trade and consequent decline of supremacy.

With the victory of the English on the Plains of Abraham, before Quebec, September 12th and 15th, 1759, the successful General Wolf fell, and the defeated General Mont-

calm was also killed. The subsequent surrender of Montreal and Canada, with all its dependencies, on the 8th of September, 1760, by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, to the British Crown, was the opening wedge to a change in history. The Province of Michilimackinac (in Canada) was transferred to Britain, and the French habitants remained and the effects of their civil institutions and religion are evident to this day.

PONTIAC'S CONSPIRACY

The change of jurisdiction from French to English rule was not agreeable to the Indians of the Lakes. They were suspicious of the English, who generally treated them with contempt, and looked upon them more in the light of slaves, subservient to their wishes, than as subjects entitled to their protection. They still clung to the French with affection and regard, and looked to them for protection and advice. The Indian and French would lodge in the same wigwam, or cabin, on intimate terms. A French voyageur, or *coureur de bois*, usually married a squaw (Indian fashion), adapted himself to the social condition and mode of life of her tribe, and became as one of them. They claimed each other as brothers, and in the speech of a Chippewa chief: "They called us children, and we found them fathers."

The English were not liberal in their dealings with the Indians, took advantage of them in trade, and often allowed them to suffer when they needed supplies. The French gave them clothing, ammunition and guns; also food, when required. When an Indian visited an English post he was looked upon and treated as an enemy or a spy, received coldly and often driven away. English soldiers had appropriated some of the best Indian lands, and the French told them their hunting grounds would soon follow. The French knew the country was forever lost to them, but, in the spirit of revenge, they inflamed the minds of the Indians with wild tales, and informed them a chain of posts were being established to pen them in between the settlements and root them out of the land. These stories they were only too willing to believe, on account of their hatred of the English.

The French declared that the King of France had fallen

asleep, and that while he slumbered the English had seized Canada; but now he was awake again, and his armies were advancing by way of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi to drive the usurpers from the country of his red children. Lieutenant Edward Jenks, commanding Fort Ouatanon, on the Wabash, wrote to Major Gladwin, commanding Detroit, as follows: "28 March, 1763. The Canadians here are continually telling lies to the Indians. * * * One La Pointe



This tablet was unveiled in the rotunda of the Southern Hotel, Saint Louis, on January 29, 1901, by the St. Louis Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

told the Indians a few days ago that we should be all prisoners in a short time (showing when the corn was about a foot high), and that there was a great army to come from the Mississippi and that they were to have a great number of Indians with them; therefore advised them not to help us. That they would soon take Detroit and these small posts, and then they would take Quebec, Montreal, &c., and go into our country. This, I am informed, they tell them from one end of the year to the other." He adds: "Indians would rather give six bear skins for a blanket to a Frenchman than three to an Englishman." (Parkman's Pontiac, page 178.)

The passions of the Indians, wrought to a high pitch by their real and imaginary wrongs, and exasperated by French statements, were further inflamed in another way.

There appeared among the Delawares a prophet who claimed to be a messenger from the Great Spirit. He urged them to lay aside the clothing and arms received from the white man and return to their savage life. By doing this, and observing his precepts, they would soon be restored to their former greatness and power, and drive the white man from their territory. He had many followers, and his fame spread to the tribes on the northern lakes.

The Indians were being aroused. Belts of wampum were sent by the Six Nations to all the Indians from Nova Scotia to Illinois, and through the Massagues to the Northern Nations.

Captain Campbell, commanding Detroit in 1761, discovered a plot to destroy him and his garrison, and nipped it in the bud; also another design in the summer of 1762 was frustrated. These plots were the forerunners of a coming tempest.

Early in 1763, when the Indians learned that the French King had ceded all their country to the King of England, without their consent, their indignation knew no bounds. Pontiac, the principal chief of the Ottawas (and of the band at Detroit), and one of them, but born of an Ojibwa (Chippewa) mother went from tribe to tribe, or sent his emissaries, "and within a few weeks a plot was matured, such as was never before or since conceived or executed by a North American Indian.. It was determined to attack all the English forts upon the same day; then, having destroyed their garrisons to turn upon the defenseless frontier and ravage and lay waste the settlements until, as many of the Indians fondly believed, the English should all be driven into the sea, and the country restored to its primitive owners."

FORT MICHILIMACKINAC.

Before the war cloud burst in the spring in 1763, several English traders went with canoes to Michilimackinac; some followed the Ottawa route, and others the lower strait ("Detroit") by the way of the lakes. Let us follow one of these adventurers by the lake route. Leaving Lake Erie he enters

the Detroit and passing the settlement and fort of the same name, he soon enters Lake St. Clair and crosses that water. His voyageurs urge their bark canoes against the current of the longer arm of the strait above (St. Clair) until they reach the outlet of Lake Huron. Now, they enter that, ap-



PONTIAC

parently, boundless fresh water ocean; following the eastern shore they paddle northward over the bay of "Sagina," and onward still. In two or three weeks, if his Canadians labor well, and there is no accident, the trader approaches the end of his voyage. Near the head of the lake westward, on the right, he passes the extensive island of Bois Blanc, and sees nearly in front the "Pe-quod-e-nouge," of the Indians, beautiful Michilimackinac, rising with its white limestone cliffs

and green foliage from the broad, clear waters. He does not steer towards it, for at that time the Indians were its only tenants, but keeps along the main shore to the left, while his voyageurs raise the Canadian boat song and chorus. "Doubling a point he sees before him the red flag of England swelling lazily in the wind, and the palisades and wooden bastions of Fort Michilimackinac* standing close upon the margin of the lake. On the beach canoes were drawn up, and Canadians and Indians were idly lounging. A little beyond the fort is a cluster of white Canadian houses, roofed with bark, and protected with fences of strong round pickets.

"The trader enters at the gate and sees before him an extensive square area, surrounded by high palisades. Numerous houses, barracks and other buildings, from a smaller square within, and in the vacant space which they inclose appear the red uniforms of British soldiers, the gray coats of Canadians, and the gaudy Indian blankets, mingled in picturesque confusion, while a multitude of squaws with children of every hue, stroll restlessly about the place. Such was Fort Michilimackinac in 1763." (Parkham.)

He adds—"This description is drawn from traditions accounts aided by a personal examination of the spot, where the stumps of the pickets and the foundations of the house may still be traced." Also, "Its name, which, in the Algonquin tongue, signifies the Great Turtle, was first, from a fancied resemblance, applied to the neighboring island, and then to the fort."

Michilimackinac, though buried in the wilderness, was of no recent origin. The island was known to Champlain before 1612, and the straits were afterwards frequently passed by French traders with Indian convoys. Frenchmen were there before 1626. About 1669 the island of Michilimackinac, so famous for position and commanding prominence, gave name to an extensive province of which it was the emporium and capital, and probably the first settled place in Michigan. It was the residence of Dablon, Superior of the Jesuits, who there, with Marquette, in 1670, laid the

*On the south shore at the second post of that name.



SITE OF FORT MICHILIMACKINAC, FROM SKETCH FOR PARKMAN

foundation of the mission of St. Ignace de Michilimackinac, established in 1671. That was on the north shore, and where the first Fort at the Post of Michilimackinac the Stockade itself was called Fort de Buade, and was afterwards constructed, in 1673. There were two other forts in the northern region besides Michilimackinac—Green Bay and Sault Ste. Marie. Both were founded at an early period and both presented the same characteristic features—mission house, a fort and a cluster of Canadian dwellings. They had been originally garrisoned by small parties of militia, who, bringing their families with them, settled on the spot and were the founders of those little colonies.

Michilimackinac, much the larger of the three, contained thirty families within the palisades of the fort, and about as many more without. Besides its military value it was important as a center of the fur trade; for it was here that the traders engaged their men and sent out their goods in canoes under the charge of subordinates, to the more distant regions of the Mississippi and the Northwest.

The greater part of the year the garrisons and settlers were isolated and cut off from the rest of the world. The distance between the three posts was so great and a water journey so serious and perilous that all communication was often stopped for months.

The Indians near Michilimackinac were Ojibwas (Chippewas Otchipwas) and Ottawas. The Ojibwas claimed the Eastern side of Michigan and the Ottawas the Western. "Separated by a line drawn southward from the fort itself." The principal village of the Ojibwas, on the island of Michilimackinac—"contained about a hundred warriors." They had another small village near the head of Thunder Bay. The Ottawas, with two hundred and fifty warriors, lived at L'Arbre Croche (the tree crooked, or crotched), west, on Lake Michigan. The Jesuit mission of St. Ignace had been moved from the north side of the straits. The Ottawas were nominal Catholics, and the Ojibwas were not the least removed from their primitive barbarism. The two tribes were hostile to the English and loyal to the French. Their feelings of hostility were increased by the Canadians who were jealous of the English and their rivals in the fur trade.

We will now drop back to 1761, in the spring and summer, and note what was transpiring at Michilimackinac. The English had not taken possession of the fort and it was occupied by traders and *coureurs de bois*, with their Indian families.

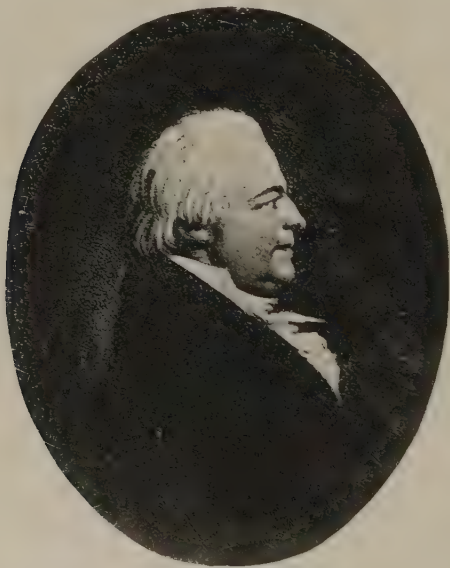
But before coming to one of a series of acts in the drama about to be played, at eleven posts on the line of the Great Lakes, let us present to our readers the English trader, Alexander Henry, who was principal, though unwilling actor, in the tragedy at Fort Michilimackinac. Henry was the first English fur trader who arrived among them. His adventures will describe the feeling of the Indians toward the English. He had difficulty in obtaining permission to trade at Michilimackinac, as no treaty of peace had been made with the Indians, the authorities were apprehensive that the property of lives of his Majesty's subjects would not be secure. He was eager to make the attempt which he afterward admitted was premature.

He obtained the coveted license on the 3d of August, 1761, and began his journey to Michilimackinac, on the 4th from Lachine, by the "Ottawa route," the river *Des Outaowis*, Lake *Nipissingue*, and river *Des Français* to Lake Huron. The other route was through Lake Ontario, Erie, and Huron. The Ottawa route was shorter. His canoes were the usual size to convey merchandise, about thirty-three feet long by four and a half feet extreme breadth, tapering towards the bow and stern posts, formed of birchbark a quarter of an inch thick. The bark was lined with splints of cedar and strengthened with ribs of the same wood, the ends fastened to the gunwale, and several bars or seats laid from gunwale to gunwale. The bark was sewed with *wattap*, rootlets of the spruce tree, and pine gum was used in place of tar for the seams. Bark, wattap, and gum was always carried for repairs.

The canoes were propelled with paddles and occasionally a sail. There were eight men to each boat, and to three or four canoes a *guide* who was *brigade commander*. The *guide* was commander supreme, and every man's wages answerable to him. Skilled men, placed at the head and stern, got double wages, three hundred livres each—\$50 from Montreal to Michilimackinac and back—the middle men half that sum.

These regulations were made by the French government, and continued by the British.

Freight of these canoes was sixty pieces, or packages, of ninety to one hundred pounds, each, with one thousand pounds of provisions. This with the weight of eight men and forty pounds of baggage, in a sack, per man, would average about four tons.



Alexander Henry—

The packages had often to be unloaded and carried so as to lighten the boats for passage of rapids, and portages. When again loaded the merry *royageurs* would join in French chorus the Canadian boat song:

"Faintly as tolls the evening chime,
Our voices keep tune and our oars keep time,
Soon as the woods on the shore look dim,
We'll sing at St. Ann's our parting hymn.
Row brothers, row, the stream runs fast,
The rapids are near and the daylight's past!
Why should we yet our sail unfurl?
There is not a breath the blue wave to curl!
But, when the wind blows off the shore,
Oh! sweetly we'll rest our weary oar.
Blow, breezes, blow, the stream runs fast,
The rapids are near and the daylight's past!"

But nothing of note happened until he reached the island of La Cloche in Lake Huron. Here he found a large village of Indians, who treated him with kindness and civility until they discovered he was English. They then told him the Indians at Michilimackinac would fall upon him and kill him, and they had a right to share the pillage. They demanded a keg of rum, and said if it was not given, they would take it. Henry complied on condition that he should not be further molested. He received repeated warnings of sure destruction at Michilimackinac that oppressed him with a sense of danger, but he could not return as he was advised, for his provisions were nearly exhausted. Observing the feeling was exclusively towards the English and his Canadian attendants were cordially received, he changed his suit for one of Canadian make, besmeared his face with grease and dirt and resumed the voyage. He took the place of one of the boatmen, and when Indians approached, plied the paddle with as much skill as possible. During the rest of the trip he escaped notice. Early in September he arrived at the Island of Michilimackinac in his voyageur's costume, where we will allow him to speak for himself. He writes:

"The land in the center of this island is high and its form somewhat resembles that of a turtle's back. Mackinac, or Mickinac, signifies a *turtle*, and *michi*, or *missi*, signifies *great*, as it does also *several*, or *many*. The common interpretation of the word Michilimackinac is, the Great Turtle. It is from this island that the fort, commonly known by the name of Michilimackinac, has obtained its appellation.

"On the island, as I had been previously taught to expect, there was a village of Chipeways, said to contain a

hundred warriors. Here I was fearful of discovery, and consequent ill-treatment; but after inquiring the news, and particularly whether or not any Englishman was coming to Michilimackinac, they suffered us to pass uninjured. One man, indeed, looked at me, laughed, and pointed me out to another. This was enough to give me some uneasiness; but whatever was the singularity he perceived in me, both he and his friend retired, without suspecting me to be an Englishman.

"Leaving, as speedily as possible, the island of Michilimackinac, I crossed the strait, and landed at the fort of the same name. The distance from the island is about two leagues. I landed at four o'clock in the afternoon.

"Here I put the entire charge of my effects into the hands of my assistant, Campion, between whom and myself it had been previously agreed that he should pass for the proprietor; and my men were instructed to conceal the fact that I was an Englishman.

"Campion soon found a house, to which I retired, and where I hoped to remain in privacy; but the men soon betrayed my secret, and I was visited by the inhabitants, with a great show of civility. They assured me that I could not stay at Michilimackinac without the most imminent risk, and strongly recommended that I should lose no time in making my escape to Detroit.

"Though language like this could not but increase my uneasiness, it did not shake my determination to remain with my property, and encounter the evils with which I was threatened; and my spirits were in some measure sustained by the sentiments of Campion in this regard, for he declared his belief that the Canadian inhabitants of the fort were more hostile than the Indians, as being jealous of Indian traders, who, like myself, were penetrating into the country.

"Fort Michilimackinac was built by order of the Governor General of Canada, and garrisoned with a small number of militia, who having families, soon became less soldiers than settlers. Most of those whom found in the fort had originally served in the French army.

"The fort stands on the south side of the strait, which is between Lake Huron and Lake Michigan. It has an area

of two acres, and is inclosed with pickets of cedar wood,* and it is so near the water's edge that, when the wind is in the west, the waves break against the stockade. On the bastions are two small pieces of brass English cannon, taken some years since by a party of Canadians who went on a plundering expedition against the posts of Hudson's Bay, which they reached by the route of the river Churchill.

"Within the stockade are thirty houses, neat in their appearance, and tolerably commodious; and a church in which



mass is celebrated by a Jesuit missionary. The number of families may be nearly equal to that of the houses, and their subsistence is derived from the Indian traders, who assemble here in their voyages to and from Montreal. Michilimackinac is the place of deposit, and point of departure between the upper countries and the lower. Here the outfits are prepared for the countries of Lake Michigan and the Mississippi, Lake Superior and the Northwest; and here the returns of furs are collected and embarked for Montreal.

"I was not released from the visits and admonitions of

**Thuya Occidentalis.*

the inhabitants of the fort, before I received the equivocal intelligence that the whole band of Chipeways from the island of Michilimackinac was arrived with the intention of paying me a visit.

“There was in the fort one Farley, an interpreter, lately in the employ of the French Commandant. He had married a Chipeway woman, and was said to possess great influence over the nation to which his wife belonged. Doubtful as to the kind of visit which I was about to receive, I sent for this interpreter, and requested first that he would have the kindness to be present at the interview, and, secondly, that he would inform me of the intentions of the band. Mr. Farley agreed to be present; and, as to the object of the visit, replied that it was consistent with a uniform custom, that a stranger on his arrival should be waited upon, and welcomed by the chiefs of the nations, who, on their part, always gave a small present, and always expected a large one; but, as to the rest, declared himself unable to answer for the particular view of the Chipeways on this occasion, I being an Englishman, and the Indians having made no treaty with the English. He thought that there might be danger, the Indians having protested that they would not suffer an Englishman to remain in their part of the country. This information was far from agreeable; but there was no resource, except in fortitude and patience.

“At two o’clock in the afternoon, the Chipeways came to my house, about sixty in number, and headed by Mina’-va’ va’ na, their chief. They walked in single file, each with his tomahawk in one hand, and scalping-knife in the other. Their bodies were naked, from the waist upward, except in a few examples, where blankets were thrown loosely over their shoulders. Their faces were painted with charcoal worked up with grease; their bodies with white clay, in patterns of various fancies. Some had feathers thrust through their noses, and their heads decorated with the same. It is unnecessary to dwell on the sensations with which I beheld the approach of this uncouth, if not frightful, assemblage.

“The chief entered first, and the rest followed, without noise. On receiving a sign from the former, the latter seated themselves on the floor.

“Minavavana appeared to be about fifty years of age. He

was six feet in height, and had in his countenance an indescribable mixture of good and evil. Looking steadfastly at me where I sat in ceremony, with an interpreter on either hand, and several Canadians behind me, he entered, at the same time, into conversation with Campion, inquiring how long it was since I left Montreal, and observing that the English, as it would seem, were brave men, and not afraid of death, since they dared to come, as I had done, fearlessly among their enemies.

"The Indians now gravely smoked their pipes, while I inwardly endured the tortures of suspense. At length, the pipes being finished, as well as a long pause by which they were succeeded. Minavavana, taking a few strings of wampum in his hand, began the following speech:

"Englishman, it is to you that I speak, and I demand your attention!

"Englishman, you know that the French King is our father. He promised to be such; and we, in return, promised to be his children. This promise we have kept.

"Englishman, it is you that have made war with our father. You are his enemy; and how, then, could you have the boldness to venture among us, his children? You know that his enemies are ours.

"Englishman, we are informed that our father, the King of France, is old and infirm; and that, being fatigued with making war upon your nation, he is fallen asleep. During his sleep you have taken advantage of him, and possessed yourself of Canada. But his nap is almost at an end. I think I hear him already stirring and inquiring for his children, the Indians; and, when he does awake, what must become of you? He will destroy you utterly!

"Englishman, although you have conquered the French, you have not yet conquered us! We are not your slaves. These lakes, these woods and mountains, were left to us by our ancestors. They are our inheritance, and we will part with them to none. Your nation supposes that we like the white people, can not live without bread—and pork—and beef! But, you ought to know that He, the Great Spirit and Master of Life, has provided food for us, in these spacious lakes, and on these woody mountains.

"Englishman, our father, the King of France, employed

our young men to make war upon your nation. In this warfare many of them have been killed; and it is our custom to retaliate until such time as the spirits of the slain are satisfied. But the spirits of the slain are to be satisfied in either of two ways; the first is by the spilling of the blood of the nation by which they fall; the other, by *covering the bodies of the dead*, and thus allaying the resentment of their relations. This is done by making presents.

“Englishman, your king has never sent us any presents, nor entered into any treaty with us, wherefore he and we are still at war; and, until he does these things, we must consider that we have no other father nor friend, among the white men, than the King of France; but, for you, we have taken into consideration that you have ventured your life among us in the expectation that we should not molest you. You do not come armed, with an intention to make war; you come in peace, to trade with us, and supply us with necessaries, of which we are much in want. We shall regard you, therefore, as a brother; and you may sleep tranquilly, without fear of the Chipeways. As a token of our friendship, we present you with this pipe to smoke.”

“As Minavavana uttered these words, an Indian presented me with a pipe, which, after I had drawn the smoke three times, was carried to the chief, and after him to every person in the room. This ceremony ended, the chief arose, and gave me his hand, in which he was followed by all the rest.

“Being again seated, Minavavana requested that his young men might be allowed to taste what he called my *English milk* (meaning rum), observing, that it was long since they had tasted any, and that they were very desirous to know whether or not there were any difference between the English milk and the French.

“My adventure on leaving Fort William Augustus had left an impression on my mind which made me tremble when Indians asked for rum; and I would therefore willingly have excused myself in this particular; but, being informed that it was customary to comply with the request, and withal satisfied with the friendly declarations which I had received, I promised to give them a small cask at parting. Again this, by the aid of my interpreter, I made a reply to the

speech of Minavavana, declaring that it was the good character which I had heard of the Indians that had alone emboldened me to come among them; that their late father, the King of France, had surrendered Canada to the King of England, whom they ought to regard now as their father, and who would be as careful of them as the other had been; that I had come to furnish them with necessaries, and that their good treatment of me would be an encouragement to others. They appeared satisfied with what I said repeating *Eh!* (an expression of approbation) after hearing each particular. I had prepared a present, which I now gave them with the utmost good-will. At their departure, I distributed a small quantity of rum.

“Relieved, as I now imagined myself, from all occasion of anxiety as to the treatment which I was to experience from the Indians, I assorted my goods, and hired Canadian interpreters and clerks, in whose care I was to send them into Lake Michigan, and the river Saint Pierre, in the country of the Nadowessies; into Lake Superior among the Chipeways; and to the Grand Portage, for the north-west. Everything was ready for their departure, when new dangers sprung up and threatened to overwhelm me.

“At the entrance of Lake Michigan, and at about twenty miles to the west of Fort Michilimackinac, is the village of L’Arbre Croche, inhabited by a band of Ottawas, boasting of two hundred and fifty fighting men. L’Arbre Croche is the seat of the Jesuits Mission of St. Ignace de Michilimackinac, and the people are partly baptized and partly not. The missionary resides on a farm, attached to the mission, and situated between the village and the fort, both of which are under his care. The Ottawas of L’Arbre Croche, who, when compared with the Chipeways, appear to be much advanced in civilization, grow maize for the market of Michilimackinac, where this commodity is depended upon for provisioning the canoes.

“The new dangers which presented themselves came from this village of Ottawas. Every thing, as I have said, was in readiness for the departure of my goods, when accounts arrived of its approach; and shortly after, two hundred warriors entered the fort, and billeted themselves in the several house among the Canadian inhabitants. The next morning

they assembled in the house which was built for the commandant, or governor, and ordered the attendance of myself, and of two other merchants, still later from Montreal: namely, Messrs, Stanly Goddard and Ezekiel Solomons.

“After our entering the council-room, and taking our seats, one of the chiefs commenced an address: ‘Englishmen,’ he said, ‘we the Otawas, were some time since informed of your arrival in this country, and of your having brought with you the goods of which we have need. At the news we were greatly pleased, believing that, through your assistance, our wives and children would be enabled to pass another winter; but what was our surprise when, a few days ago, we were again informed that the goods which, as we had expected, were intended for us, were on the eve of departure for distant countries, of which some are inhabited by our enemies! These accounts being spread, our wives and children came to us, crying, and desired that we should go to the fort, to learn with our own ears, their truth or falsehood. We accordingly embarked, almost naked, as you see; and on our arrival here, we have inquired into the accounts, and found them true. We see your canoes ready to depart, and find your men engaged for the Mississippi and other distant regions.

“‘Under these circumstances, we have considered the affair; and you are now sent for, that you may hear our determination, which is, that you shall give to each of our men, young and old, merchandise and ammunition to the amount of fifty beaver skins, on credit, and for which I have no doubt of their paying you in the summer, on their return from their wintering.’

“A compliance with this demand would have stripped me and my fellow-merchants of all our merchandise; and what rendered the affair still more serious, we even learned that these Otawas were never accustomed to pay for what they received on credit. In reply, therefore, to the speech which we had heard, we requested that the demand contained in it might be diminished; but we were answered, that the Otawas had nothing further to say, except that they would allow until the next day for reflection; after which, if compliance was not given they would make no further application, but take into their own hands the property, which

they had already regarded as their own, as having been brought into their country before the conclusion of any peace between themselves and the English.

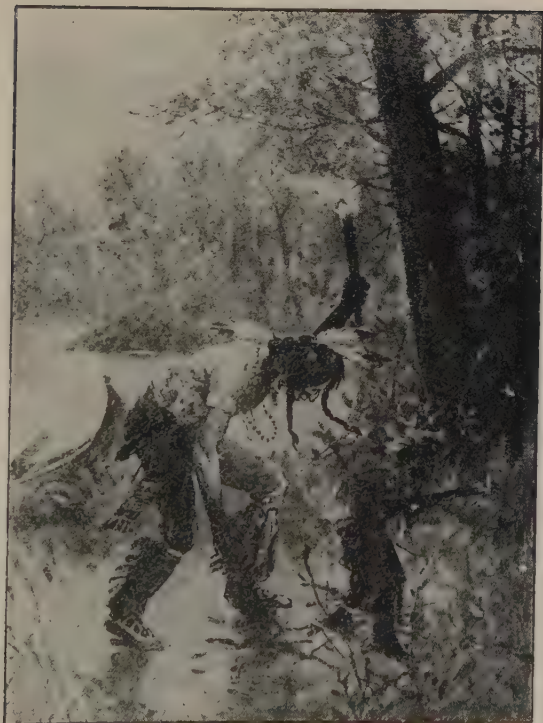
"We now returned to consider our situation; and in the evening, Farley, the interpreter, paid us a visit, and assured us that it was the intention of the Ottawas to put us, that night, to death. He advised us, as our only means of safety, to comply with the demands which had been made; but we suspected our informant of a disposition to prey upon our fears, with a view to induce us to abandon the Indian trade, and resolved, however this might be, rather to stand on the defensive than submit. We trusted to the house in which I lived as a fort; and armed ourselves, and about thirty of our men, with muskets. Whether or not the Ottawas ever intended violence, we never had an opportunity to knowing; but the night passed quietly.

"Early the next morning, a second council was held, and the merchants were again summoned to attend. Believing that every hope of resistance would be lost should we commit our person into hands of our enemies, we sent only a refusal. There was none without, in whom we had any confidence, except Campion. From him we learned, from time to time, whatever was rumored among the Canadian inhabitants as to the designs of the Ottawas; and from him, toward sunset, we received the gratifying intelligence that a detachment of British soldiers, sent to garrison Michilimackinac, was distant only five miles, and would enter the fort early the next morning. Near at hand, however, as relief was reported to be, our anxiety could not but be great; for a long night was to be passed, and our fate might be decided before the morning. To increase our apprehensions, about midnight we were informed that the Ottawas were holding a council, at which no white man was permitted to be present, Farley alone excepted; and him we suspected, and afterward positively knew, to be our greatest enemy. We, on our part, remained all night upon the alert; but at daybreak, to our surprise and joy, we saw the Ottawas preparing to depart. By sunrise, not a man of them was left in the fort, and, indeed, the scene was altogether changed. The inhabitants, who, while the Ottawas were present, had avoided all connection with the English traders, now came with congratu-

tations. They related that the Ottawas had proposed to them that, if joined by the Canadians, they would march and attack the troops which were known to be advancing on the fort; and they added that it was their refusal which had determined the Ottawas to depart. At noon three hundred troops of the Sixteenth Regiment, under the command of Lieutenant Lesslie, marched into the fort; and this arrival dissipated all our fears, from whatever source derived. After a few days, detachments were sent into the Bay des Puans, by which is the route to the Mississippi, and at the mouth of St. Joseph, which leads to the Illinois. The Indians from all quarters came to pay their respects to the commandant; and the merchants dispatched their canoes, though it was now the middle of September, and therefore somewhat late in the season."

Henry spent the winter in Michilimackinac, amusing himself by hunting and fishing. But few of the Indians came to the fort, excepting two families, one of which was that of a chief. These families lived on a river* five leagues below, and came occasionally with beaver flesh for sale. That chief was an exception to the rule; for instead of being hostile toward the English, he was warmly attached to them. But in this case the exception proved the rule, to a demonstration. Henry thus writes of him: "He had been taken prisoner by Sir William Johnson, at the siege of Fort Niagara; and had received from that intelligent officer his liberty, the medal usually presented to a chief, and the British flag. Won by these unexpected acts of kindness, he had returned to Michilimackinac, full of praise of the English, and hoisting his flag over his lodge. This latter demonstration of his partiality had nearly cost him his life; his lodge was broken down, and his flag torn to pieces. The pieces he carefully gathered up, and preserved with pious care; and whenever he came to the fort, he drew them forth and exhibited them. On these occasions it grew into a custom to give him as much liquor as he said was necessary to make him cry over the misfortune of losing his

*Cheboygan River.



INDIANS ON THE WARPATH

flag. The commandant would have given him another; but he thought that he could not accept it without danger."

When navigation opened Henry left Michilimackinac to visit Sault Ste. Marie. "Here he made the acquaintance of M. Cadotte, an interpreter, whose wife was a Chipeway; and, desirous of learning that language, he decided to spend the succeeding winter in the family of his new-found friend. Here also there was a small fort, and during the summer a small detachment of troops, under the command of Lieutenant Jemette, arrived to garrison it. Late in the fall, how-

ever, a destructive fire, which consumed all the houses except Cadotte's, and all the fort supplies, made it necessary to send the garrison back to Michilimackinac. The few that were left at this place were now crowded into one small house, and compelled to gain a subsistence by hunting and fishing. Thus, inuring himself to hardships, and familiarizing himself with the Chipeway tongue, Henry passed the second winter of his sojourn, in the wilderness of the Upper Lakes. Early in the succeeding spring, 1763, he was visited by Sir Robert Dover, an English gentleman, who, as Henry tells us, 'was on a voyage of curiosity,' and with him he again returned to Michilimackinac." He intended to remain until his clerks should come from the interior, and then go back to the Sault. Leaving our hero at the moment of his arrival at the fort, we turn our attention to tribes further south.

Parkman says: "It is difficult to determine which tribe was first to raise the cry of war. There were many who might have done so, for all the savages in the backwoods were ripe for an outbreak, and the movement seemed almost simultaneous. The Delawares and Senecas were the most incensed; and Kiashuta, chief of the latter, was perhaps foremost to apply the torch; but if this were the case, he touched fire to materials already on the point of igniting. It belonged to a greater chief than he to give method and order to what would else have been a wild burst of fury and to convert desultory attacks into a formidable and protracted war. But for Pontiac, the whole might have ended in a few troublesome inroads upon the frontier, and a little whooping and yelling under the walls of Fort Pitt."

PONTIAC ON THE WAR PATH.

The nationality of Pontiac is disputed. Some have made him a member of the tribe of Sacs, or Saakies; but the greater number have placed him among the Ottawas. "His home was about eight miles above Detroit, on Peché Island, which looks out upon the waters of Lake St. Clair. His form was cast in the finest mold of savage grace and strength, and his eye seemed capable of penetrating, at a glance, the secret motives which actuated the savage tribes around him.

His rare personal qualities, his courage, resolution, wisdom, address, and eloquence, together with the hereditary claim to authority which, according to Indian custom, he possessed, secured for him the esteem of both the French and English, and gave him an influence among the Lake Tribes greater than that of any other individual. Early in life he distinguished himself as a chieftain of no ordinary ability. In 1746 he commanded a powerful body of Indians, mostly Ottawas, who gallantly defended the people of Detroit against the formidable attack of several combined northern tribes; and it is supposed that he was present at the disastrous defeat of Braddock, in which several hundred of his warriors were engaged. He had always, at least up to the time when Major Rogers came into the country, been a firm friend of the French, and received many marks of esteem from the French officer, Marquis de Montcalm."

"How could he, then, 'the daring chief of the Northwest,' do otherwise than dispute the English claim to his country? How could he endure the sight of this people driving the game from his hunting-grounds, and his friends and allies from the lands they had so long possessed? When he heard that Rogers was advancing along the lakes to take possession of the country, his indignation knew no bounds, and he at once sent deputies, requesting him to halt until such time as he could see him. Flattering words and fair promises induced him, at length, to extend the hand of friendship to Rogers. He was inclined to live peaceably with the English, and to encourage their settling in the country, so long as they treated him as he deserved; but if they treated him with neglect, he would shut up the way, and exclude them from it. He did not consider himself a conquered prince, but he expected to be treated with the respect and honor due to a king."

The Indians felt, as Minavavana expressed it, that they had "no father among the white men but the King of France;" Pontiac resolved, as he had threatened, to "shut up the way." His plan was to make a contemporaneous assault upon all the British posts, and effectually extinguish the English power at a single blow. This was a stroke of policy which evinced an extraordinary genius, and demanded for its execution an energy and courage of the highest

order. But Pontiac was fully equal to the task. He was as skillful in executing as he was bold in planning. He knew that success would multiply friends and allies; but friends and allies were necessary to insure success.

First, then, a council must be called; and for this purpose, at the close of 1762, he sent out his ambassadors to all the different nations. With the war-belt of wampum and the tomahawk stained red in token of war, these swift-footed messengers went from camp to camp and from village to village, throughout the North, South, East, and West; and in whatever tribe they appeared, the sachems assembled to hear the words of the great Pontiac. The message was everywhere heard with approbation, the war-belt accepted, and the hatchet seized, as an indication that the assembled chiefs stood pledged to take part in the war.

The Grand Council assembled on the twenty-seventh day of the following April, on the banks of the little river Ecorse, not far from Detroit. The pipe went round, and Pontiac stepped forth, plumed and painted in the full costume of war. He called in requisition all the eloquence and cunning of which he was master. He appealed to their fears, their hopes, their ambitions, their cupidity, their hatred of the English, and their love for their old friends, the French. He displayed to them a belt which he said the King of France had sent him, urging him to drive the English from the country, and open the way for the return of the French. He painted in glowing colors, the common interests of their race, and called upon them to make a stand against a common foe. He related a dream in which the Great Manitou had appeared to a chief of the Abenakis, saying: "I am the Maker of heaven of earth, the trees, lakes, rivers, and all things else. I am the Maker of mankind, and because I love you, you must do my will. The land on which you live, I made for you, and not for others. Why do you suffer the white men to dwell among you? My children, you have forgotten the customs and traditions of your forefathers. Why do you not clothe yourselves in skins, as they did, and use the bows and arrows, and the stone-pointed lances which they used? You have bought guns, knives, kettles, and blankets from the white men, until you can no longer do without them; and, what is worse, you have drunk the

poison fire-water, which turns you into fools. Fling all these things away; live as your wise forefathers lived before you, and as for these English—these dogs dressed in red, who have come to rob you of your hunting grounds, and drive away the game—you must lift the hatchet against them. Wipe them from the face of the earth, and then you will win my favor back again, and once more be happy and prosperous. The children of your great father, the King of France, are not like the English. Never forget they are your brethren. They are very dear to me, for they love the red men, and understand the true mode of worshipping me.”

We left Henry on his arrival at the fort. The Ottawas and Chippewas had received the war belt of black and purple wampum and the painted hatchet, from Pontiac, and were pledged to join in the war of extermination. Near the last of May word came that the blow had been struck at Detroit, and the Indians were wild with excitement. The Chippewas resolved to assault Michilimackinac at once and not notify the Ottawas. Other tribes had gathered in the vicinity who joined the Chippewas. We will continue the story in Henry's own words:

MASSACRE AT FORT MICHILIMACKINAC.

“When I reached Michilimackinac, I found several other traders who had arrived before me, from different parts of the country, and who, in general, declared the disposition of the Indians to be hostile to the English, and even apprehended some attack. M. Laurent Ducharme distinctly informed Major Ethrington that a plan was absolutely conceived for destroying him, his garrison, and all the English in the upper country; but the commandant believing this and other reports to be without foundation, proceeding only from idle or ill-disposed persons, and of a tendency to do mischief expressed much displeasure against M. Ducharme, and threatened to send the next person who should bring a story of the same kind, a prisoner to Detroit.

“The garrison at this time consisted of ninety privates, two subalterns, and the commandant, and the English merchants at the fort were four in number. Thus strong, few

entertained anxiety concerning the Indians, who had no weapons but small arms.

"Meanwhile the Indians from every quarter were daily assembling in unusual numbers, but with every appearance of friendship, frequenting the forts and disposing of their peltries in such a manner as to dissipate almost any one's fears. For myself, on one occasion I took the liberty of observing to Major Ethrington that, in my judgment, no confidence ought to be placed in them, and that I was informed no less than four hundred lay around the fort. In return the Major only rallied me on my timidity; and it is to be confessed that, if this officer neglected admonition on his part, so did I on mine. Shortly after my first arrival in Michilimackinac, in the preceding year, a Chipeway named Wawatam began to come to my house, betraying in his demeanor strong marks of personal regard. After this had continued for some time, he came on a certain day, bringing with him his whole family; and, at the same time, a large present, consisting of skins, sugar, and dried meat. Having laid these in a heap, he commenced a speech, in which he informed me that, some years before, he had observed a fast, devoting himself, according to the custom of his nation, to solitude and the mortification of his body, in the hope to obtain from the Great Spirit protection through all his days; that, on this occasion, he had dreamed of adopting an Englishman as his son, brother and friend; that, from the moment in which he first beheld me, he had recognized me as the person whom the Great Spirit had been pleased to point out to him for a brother; that he hoped that I would not refuse his present, and that he should forever regard me as one of his family.

"I could do no otherwise than accept the present, and declared my willingness to have so good a man as this appeared to be for my friend and brother. I offered a present in return for that which I had received, which Wawatam accepted, and then, thanking me for the favor which he said that I had rendered him, he left me, and soon after set out on his Winter's hunt.

"Twelve months had now elapsed since the occurrence of this incident, and I had almost forgotten the person of my *brother*. when, on the second day of June, Wawatam

came again to my house, in a temper of mind visibly melancholy and thoughtful. He told me that he had just returned from his *wintering-grounds*, and I asked after his health: but without answering my question, he went on to say that he was very sorry to find me returned from the



WA-WA-TAM

Sault; that he had intended to go to that place himself, immediately after his arrival at Michilimackinac; and that he wished me to go there along with him and his family the next morning. To all this he joined an inquiry whether or not the commandant had heard bad news, adding that,

during the winter, he had himself been frequently disturbed with *the noise of evil birds*; and further suggesting that there were numerous Indians near the fort, many of whom had never shown themselves within it. Wawatam was about forty-five years of age, of an excellent character among his nation, and a chief.

“Referring much of what I heard to the peculiarities of the Indian character, I did not pay all the attention which they will be found to have deserved to the entreaties and remarks of my visitor. I answered that I could not think of going to the Sault so soon as the next morning, but would follow him there after the arrival of my clerks. Finding himself unable to prevail with me, he withdrew for that day; but early the next morning he came again, bringing with him his wife and a present of dried meat. At this interview, after stating that he had several packs of beaver, for which he intended to deal with me, he expressed a second time his apprehensions from the numerous Indians who were around the fort, and earnestly pressed me to consent to an immediate departure for the Sault. As a reason for this particular request, he assured me that all the Indians proposed to come that day to the fort, to demand liquor of the commandant, and that he wished me to be gone before they should grow intoxicated. I had made, at the period to which I am now referring, so much progress in the language in which Wawatam addressed me, as to be able to hold an ordinary conversation in it; but the Indian manner of speech is so extravagantly figurative, that it is only for a very perfect master to follow and comprehend it entirely. Had I been further advanced in this respect, I think that I should have gathered so much information from this, my friendly monitor, as would have put me into possession of the designs of the enemy, and enabled me to save others as well as myself; as it was, it unfortunately happened that I turned a deaf ear to every thing, leaving Wawatam and his wife, after long and patient, but ineffectual efforts, to depart alone, with dejected countenances, and not before they had each let fall some tears.

“In the course of the same day, I observed that the Indians came in great numbers into the fort, purchasing tomahawks (small axes of one pound weight), and frequently

desiring to see silver arm-bands, and other valuable ornaments, of which I had a large quantity for sale. These ornaments, however, they in no instance purchased; but, after turning them over, left them, saying that they would call again the next day. Their motive, as it afterwards appeared, was no other than the very artful one of discovering, by requesting to see them, the particular places of their deposit, so that they might lay their hands on them in the moment of pillage, with the greatest certainty and dispatch.

"At night I turned in my mind the visits of Wawatam; but, though they were calculated to excite uneasiness, nothing induced me to believe that serious mischief was at hand.

"The next day, being the 4th of June, was the king's birthday. The morning was sultry. A Chipeway came to tell me that his nation was going to play at bag' gat' iway, with the Sacks or Saakies, another Indian nation, for a high wager. He invited me to witness the sport, adding that the commandant was to be there, and would be on the side of the Chipeways. In consequence of this information, I went to the commandant, and expostulated with him a little representing that the Indians might possibly have some sinister end in view; but the commandant only smiled at my suspicions.

"The game of baggatiway, which the Indians played upon that memorable occasion, was the most exciting sport in which the red man could engage. It was played with bat and ball. The bat, so called, was about four foot in length, and an inch in diameter. It was made of the toughest material that could be found. At one end it was curved, and terminated in a sort of racket, or perhaps more properly a ring, in which a network of cord was loosely woven. The players were not allowed to touch the ball with the hand, but caught it in this network at the end of that bat. At either end of the ground a tall post was planted. These posts marked the stations of the rival parties, and were sometimes a mile apart. The object of each party was to defend its own post and carry the ball to that of the adversary.

"At the beginning of the game the main body of the players assemble half-way between the two posts. Every eye sparkles and every cheek is already aglow with excitement.

The ball is tossed high into the air, and a general struggle ensues to secure it as it descends. He who succeeds starts for the goal of the adversary holding it high above his head. The opposite party, with merry yells, are swift in pursue. His course is intercepted, and rather than see the ball taken from him, he throws it, as the boy throws a stone from a sling, as far toward the goal of the adversary as he can. An adversary in the game catches it, and sends it whizzing back in the opposite direction. Hither and thither it goes; now far to the right, now as far to the left; now near to the one, now near to the other goal; the whole band crowding continually after it in the wildest confusion, until finally, some agile figure, more fleet of foot than the others, succeeds in bearing it to the goal of the opposite party."

The author, when a boy, eleven years old, saw this game played near Fort Towson, in the Indian Territory, between Choctaws and Chickasaws, his father being Post Surgeon in the medical corps of the army, at Towson. Both were guests of a Choctaw chief, Colbert, and his son. The former went to school with young Colbert, where there were about forty pupils, all Indians, except two other white boys. On this occasion there were one hundred players, fifty from each tribe. The players were naked, excepting a breach-clout, of rawhide or cloth, ornamented with feathers or beads, some decked behind with horse or coon tails, according to the fancy of the buck. The game was played just as here described, but there were two long poles, about six or eight inches apart, at each end of the line. The object was to throw the ball between the poles of the adversary. At the termination of the game there was a great feast, and, among other delicacies, dog meat was served. The author's father said that the former partook of the roast dog with a relish, but this part of the entertainment is not distinctly remembered.

In the heat of the contest, when all are running at their greatest speed, if one stumbles and falls, fifty or a hundred, who are in close pursuit and unable to stop, pile over him forming a mound of human bodies; and frequently players are so bruised as to be unable to proceed in the game.

This game, with its attendant noise and violence, was well calculated to divert the attention of officers and men,

and thus permit the Indians to take possession of the fort. To make their success more certain, they prevailed upon as many as could to come out of the fort, while at the same time their squaws, wrapped in blankets, beneath which they concealed the murderous weapons, were placed inside the inclosure. The plot was so ingeniously laid that no one suspected danger. The discipline of the garrison was relaxed, and the soldiers permitted to stroll about and view the sport, without weapons of defense. And even when the ball, as if by chance, was lifted high in the air, to descend inside the pickets, and was followed by four hundred savages, all eager, all struggling, all shouting in the unrestrained pursuit of a rude athletic exercise, no alarm was felt until the shrill war-whoop told the startled garrison that the slaughter had actually begun.

Henry continues: "I did not go myself to see the match which was now to be played without the fort, because, there being a canoe prepared to depart on the following day, for Montreal, I employed myself in writing letters to my friends; and even when a fellow trader, Mr. Tracy, happened to call upon me, saying that another canoe had just arrived from Detroit, and proposing that I should go with him to the beach, to inquire the news, it so happened that I still remained, to finish my letters, promising to follow Mr. Tracy in the course of a few minutes. Mr. Tracy had not gone more than twenty paces from my door, when I heard an Indian war-cry, and a noise of general confusion. Going instantly to my window, I saw a crowd of Indians within the fort, furiously cutting down and scalping every Englishman they found. In particular I witnessed the fate of Lieutenant Jemette.

"I had, in the room in which I was, a fowling-piece, loaded with swan-shot. This I immediately seized, and held it for a few minutes, waiting to hear the drum beat to arms. In this dreadful interval I saw several of my countrymen fall, and more than one struggling between the knees of an Indian, who, holding him in this manner, scalped him while yet living.

"At length, disappointed in the hope of seeing resistance made to the enemy, and sensible of course, that no effort of my own unassisted arm could avail against four hundred

Indians, I thought only of seeking shelter. Amid the slaughter which was raging, I observed many of the Canadian inhabitants of the fort calmly looking on, neither opposing the Indians nor suffering injury; and, from this circumstance, I conceived a hope of finding security in their homes.

"Between the yard-door of my house and of M. Langdale, my next neighbor, there was only a low fence, over which I easily climbed. At my entrance I found the whole family at the windows, gazing at the scene of blood before them. I addressed myself immediately to M. Langdale; begging that he would put me into some place of safety until the heat of the affair should be over, an act of charity by which he might perhaps preserve me from the general massacre; but, while I uttered my petition, M. Langdale, who had looked for a moment at me, turned again to the window, shrugging his shoulders, and intimating he could do nothing for me: *'Que voudriez—vous que j'en ferais?'*

"This was a moment for despair; but the next, a Pani woman, a slave of M. Langdale, beckoned me to follow her. She brought me to a door, which she opened, desiring me to enter, and telling me that it led to the garret, where I must go and conceal myself. I joyfully obeyed her directions; and she, having followed me up to the garret door, locked it after me, and with great presence of mind took away the key.

"This shelter obtained, if shelter I could hope to find it, I was naturally anxious to know what might still be passing without. Through an aperture, which afforded me a view of the area of the fort, I beheld, in shapes the foulest and most terrible, the ferocious triumphs of barbarian conquerors. The dead were scalped and mangled; the dying were writhing and shrieking under the unsatiated knife and tomahawk; and from the bodies of some, ripped open, their butchers were drinking the blood, scooped up in the hollow of joined hands, and quaffed amid shouts of rage and victory. I was shaken, not only with horror, but with fear. The sufferings which I witnessed, I seemed on the point of experiencing. No long time elapsed before, everyone being destroyed who could be found, there was a general cry of 'All is finished!' At the same instant I heard some of the Indians enter the house in which I was. The garret was

separated from the room below only by a layer of single boards, at once the flooring of the one and the ceiling of the other. I could therefore hear everything that passed; and the Indians no sooner came in than they inquired whether or not any Englishmen were in the house. M. Langdale replied that 'he could not say,' he 'did not know of any,'—answers in which he did not exceed the truth, for the Pani woman had not only hidden me by stealth, but kept my secret, and her own. M. Langdale was therefore, as I presume, as far from a wish to destroy me as he was careless about saving me, when he added to these answers, that 'they might examine for themselves, and would soon be satisfied as to the object of their question.' Saying this, he brought them to the garret door.

"The state of mind will be imagined. Arrived at the door, some delay was occasioned by the absence of the key, and a few moments were thus allowed me in which to look around me for a hiding place. In one corner of the garret was a heap of those vessels of birch-bark used in maple-sugar making, as I have recently described.

"The door was unlocked, and opened, and the Indians ascending the stairs, before I had completely crept into a small opening which presented itself at one end of the heap. An instant later four Indians entered the room, all armed with tomahawks, and all besmeared with blood upon every part of their bodies.

"The die appeared to be cast. I could scarcely breathe, but I thought that the throbbing of my heart occasioned a noise loud enough to betray me. The Indians walked in every direction around the garret, and one of them approached me so closely that at a particular moment, had he put forth his hand he must have touched me. Still I remained undiscovered, a circumstance to which the dark color of my clothes, and the want of light in a room which had no window, and in one corner in which I was, must have contributed. In a word, after taking several turns in the room, during which they told M. Langdale how many they had killed, and how many scalps they had taken, they returned down stairs, and I, with sensations not to be expressed, heard the door, which was a barrier between me and my fate, locked for the second time.

"There was a feather bed on the floor, and on this, exhausted as I was by the agitation of my mind, I threw myself down and fell asleep. In this state I remained till the dark of the evening. When I was awakened by a second opening of the door. The person that now entered was M. Langdale's wife, who was much surprised at finding me, but advised me not to be uneasy, observing that the Indians had killed most of the English, but that she hoped I might myself escape. A shower of rain having begun to fall, she had come to stop a hole in the roof. On her going away, I begged her to send me a little water to drink, which she did.

"As night was now advancing, I continued to lie on the bed, ruminating on my condition, but unable to discover a source from which I could hope for life. A flight to Detroit had no probable chance of success. The distance from Michilimackinac was four hundred miles; I was without provisions; and the whole length of the road lay through Indian countries, countries of an enemy in arms, where the first man whom I should meet would kill me. To stay where I was, threatened nearly the same issue. As before, fatigue of mind, and not tranquility, suspended my cares and procured me further sleep.

"The respite which sleep afforded me, during the night was put to an end by the return of morning. I was again on the rack of apprehension. At sunrise I heard the family stirring, and, presently after, Indian voices, informing M. Langdale that they had not found my hapless self among the dead, and that they supposed me to be somewhere concealed. M. Langdale appeared, from what followed, to be, by this time, acquainted with the place of my retreat, of which no doubt he had been informed by his wife. The poor woman, as soon as the Indians mentioned me declared to her husband in the French tongue, that he should no longer keep me in his house, but deliver me up to my pursuers; giving as a reason for this measure, that should the Indians discover his instrumentality in my concealment, they might avenge it on her children, and that it was better that I should die than they. M. Langdale resisted, at first, this sentence of his wife's, but soon suffered her to prevail, informing the Indians that he had been told I was in the house, that I had come there without his knowledge, and

that he would put me into their hands. This was no sooner expressed than he began to ascend the stairs, the Indians following upon his heels.

"I now resigned myself to the fate with which I was menaced; and, regarding every attempt at concealment as vain, I arose from the bed, and presented myself full in view to the Indians who were entering the room. They were all in a state of intoxication, and entirely naked, except about the middle. One of them, named Wenniway, whom I had previously known, and who was upward of six feet in height, had his entire face and body covered with charcoal and grease, only that a white spot of two inches in diameter encircled either eye. This man, walking up to me, seized me with one hand by the collar of the coat, while in the other he held a large carving-knife, as if to plunge it into my breast; his eyes, meanwhile, were steadfastly on mine. At length, after some seconds of the most anxious suspense, he dropped his arm, saying, 'I won't kill you!' To this he added that he had been frequently engaged in wars against the English, and had brought away many scalps; that, on a certain occasion he had lost a brother whose name was Musinigon, and that I should be called after him.

"A reprieve, on any terms, placed me among the living, and gave me back the sustaining voice of hope; but Wenniway ordered me down stairs, and there informing me that I was to be taken to his cabin, where, and indeed everywhere else, the Indians were all mad with liquor, death again was threatened, and not as possible only, but as certain. I mentioned my fears on this subject to M. Langdale, begging him to represent the danger to my master. M. Langdale, in this instance, did not withhold his compassion and Wenniway immediately consented that I should remain where I was, until he found another opportunity to take me away.

"Thus far secure, I reascended my garret stairs, in order to place myself the farthest possible out of the reach of insult from drunken Indians; but I had not remained there more than an hour, when I was called to the room below, in which was an Indian, who said that I must go with him out of the fort, Wenniway having sent him to fetch me. This man, as well as Wenniway himself, I had seen before.

In the preceding year I had allowed him to take goods on credit, for which he was still in my debt; and, some short time previous to the surprise of the fort, he had said, upon my unbraiding him with want of honesty, that 'he would pay me before long!' This speech now came fresh into my memory, and led me to suspect that the fellow had formed a design against my life. I communicated the suspicion to M. Langdale; but he gave for an answer, that I was not my own master, and must do as I was ordered.

"The Indian, on his part, directed that before I left the house I should undress myself, declaring that my coat and shirt would become him better than they did me. His pleasure, in this respect, being complied with, no other alternative was left me than either to go out naked, or to put on the clothes of the Indian, which he freely gave me in exchange. His motive for this stripping me of my own apparel, was no other, as I afterward learned, than this, that it might not be stained with blood when he should kill me.

"I was now told to proceed; and my driver followed me close until I had passed the gate of the fort, when I turned toward the spot where I knew the Indians to be encamped. This, however, did not suit the purpose of my enemy, who seized me by the arm, and drew me violently in the opposite direction, to the distance of fifty yards above the fort. Here, finding that I was approaching the bushes and sandhills,* I determined to proceed no further; but told the Indian that I believed he meant to murder me, and that if so, he might as well strike where I was as at any greater distance. He replied, with coolness, that my suspicions were just, and that he meant to pay me in this manner for my goods. At the same time he produced a knife, and held me in a position to receive the intended blow. Both this, and that which followed, were necessarily the affair of a moment. By some effort, too sudden and too little dependent on thought to be explained or remembered, I was enabled to arrest his arm and give him a sudden push, by which I turned him from me, and released myself from his grasp. This was no sooner done, than I ran toward the fort with

*Timber was felled for fuel and cultivation, allowing the winds to form sand dunes.

all the swiftness in my power, the Indian following me, and I expected every moment to feel his knife. I succeeded in my flight, and, on entering the fort, I saw Wenneaway standing in the midst of the area, and to him I hastened for protection. Wenneaway desired the Indian to desist; but the latter pursued me around him, making several strokes at me with his knife, and foaming from the mouth, with rage at the repeated failure of his purpose. At length Wenneaway drew near to M. Langdale's house, and, the door being open, I ran into it. The Indian followed me; but on my entering the house, he voluntarily abandoned the pursuit.

"Preserved so often and so unexpectedly, as it had now been my lot to be, I returned to my garret with a strong inclination to believe that, through the will of the overruling power, no Indian enemy could do me hurt; but new trials, as I believed, were at hand, when, at ten o'clock in the evening, I was aroused from sleep and once more desired to descend the stairs. Not less, however, to my satisfaction than surprise, I was summoned only to meet Major Ethrington, Mr. Bostwick, and Lieutenant Lesslie, who were in the room below. These gentlemen had been taken prisoners, while looking at the game without the fort, and immediately stripped of all their clothes. They were now sent into the fort, under charge of Canadians, because, the Indians having resolved on getting drunk, the chiefs were apprehensive that they would be murdered, if they continued in the camp. Lieutenant Jemette and seventy soldiers had been killed; and but twenty Englishmen, including soldiers, were still alive. These were all within the fort, together with nearly three hundred Canadians, belonging to the canoes, etc.

"These being our numbers, myself and others proposed to Major Ethrington to make an effort for regaining possession of the fort, and maintaining it against the Indians. The Jesuit missionary was consulted on the project; but he discouraged us by his representations, not only of the merciless treatment which we must expect from the Indians, should they regain their superiority, but of the little dependence which was to be placed upon our Canadian auxiliaries. Thus the fort and prisoners remained in the hands of the Indians, though, through the whole night, the prison-

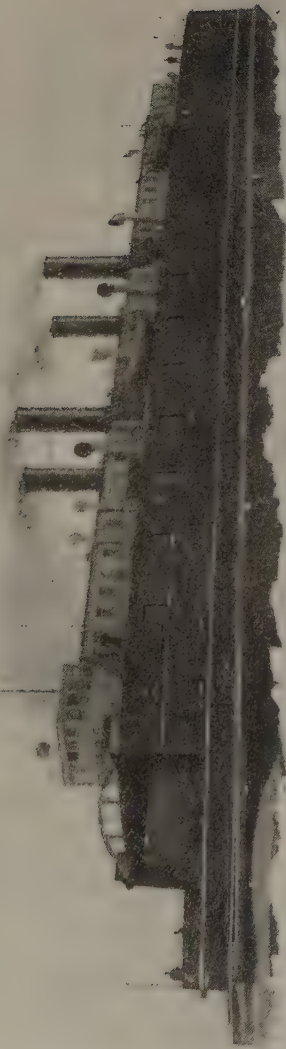
ers and whites were in actual possession, and they were without the gates.

"The whole night, or the greater part of it, was passed in mutual condolence; and my fellow-prisoners shared my garret. In the morning, being again called down, I found my master, Wenniway, and was desired to follow him. He led me to a small house within the fort, where, in a narrow room, and almost dark, I found Mr. Ezekiel Solomons, an Englishman from Detroit, and a soldier, all prisoners. With these I remained in painful suspense as to the scene that was next to present itself, till ten o'clock in the forenoon, when an Indian arrived, and presently marched us to the lakeside, where a canoe appeared ready for departure, and in which we found that we were to embark.

"Our voyage, full of doubt as it was, would have commenced immediately, but that one of the Indians, who was to be of the party, was absent. His arrival was to be waited for, and this occasioned a very long delay, during which we were exposed to a keen northeast wind. An old shirt was all that covered me. I suffered much from the cold, and in this extremity, M. Langdale coming down the beach, I asked him for a blanket, promising, if I lived, to pay him for it at any price he pleased; but the answer I received was this, that he could let me have no blanket, unless there were some one to be security for the payment. For myself, he observed, I had no longer any property in that country. I had no more to say to M. Langdale; but, presently, seeing another Canadian, named John Cuchoise, I addressed him a similar request, and was not refused. Naked as I was, and rigorous as was the weather, but for the blanket I must have perished. At noon our party was all collected, the prisoners all embarked, and we steered for the Isles du Castor,* in Lake Michigan.

"The soldier who was our companion in misfortune was made fast to a bar of the canoe, by a rope tied around his neck, as is the manner of the Indians in transporting their prisoners. The rest were left unconfined; but a paddle was put into each of our hands and we were made to use it. The

*Beaver Islands.



ADRELL'S VIEWS.

SAINTE MARIE (WINTER NAVIGATION
STRAITS OF MACKINAC.)

SAINTE MARIE EMPLOYED IN WINTER NAVIGATION AT THE STRAITS OF MACKINAC

Indians in the canoe were seven in number; the prisoners four. I had left, as it will be recollected, Major Ethrington, Lieutenant Lesslie,[†] and Mr. Bostwick, at M. Langdale's, and was now joining in misery with Mr. Ezekiel Solomon, the soldier, and the Englishman, who had newly arrived from Detroit. This was on the sixth day of June. The fort was taken on the fourth; I surrendered myself to Weniway on the fifth; and this was the third day of our distress.

"We were bound, as I have said, for the Isles du Castor, which lie in the mouth of Lake Michigan and we should have crossed the lake but that a thick fog came on, on account of which the Indians deemed it safer to keep the shore close under their lee. We therefore approached the lands of the Ottawas, and their village of L'Arbre Croche, already mentioned as lying about twenty miles to the westward of Michilimackinac, on the opposite side of the tongue of land on which the fort is built.

"Every half-hour the Indians gave their war-whoops, one for every prisoner in their canoe. This is a general custom, by the aid of which all the Indians within hearing are apprised of the number of prisoners they are carrying. In this manner we reached Wagoshense (Fox Point), a long point stretching westward into the lake, and which the Ottawas make a carrying-place, to avoid going round it. It is distant eighteen miles from Michilimackinac. After the Indians had made their war-whoop, as before, an Ottawa appeared upon the beach, who made signs that we should land. In consequence we approached. The Ottawa asked the news, and kept the Chipeways in further conversation, till we were within a few yards of the land, and in shallow water. At this moment, a hundred men rushed upon us from among the bushes, and dragged all the prisoners out of the canoes, amid a terrifying shout.

"We now believed that our last sufferings were approaching; but no sooner were we fairly on shore, and on our legs, than the chiefs of the party advanced and gave each of us their hands, telling us that they were our friends, and Ottawas whom the Chipeways had insulted by destroying

[†]Also spelled Leslie.

the English without consulting with them on the affair. They added that what they had done was for the purpose of saving our lives, the Chipeways having been carrying us to the Isles du Castor* only to kill and devour us.

"The reader's imagination is here distracted by the variety of our fortunes, and he may well paint to himself the state of mind of those who sustained them; who were the sport or the victims, of a series of events more like dreams than realities—more like fiction than truth! It was not long before we embarked again, in the canoes of the Ottawas, who, the same evening, re-landed us at Michilimackinac, where they marched us into the fort in view of the Chipeways, confounded at beholding the Ottawas espouse a side opposite to their own. The Ottawas, who had accompanied us in sufficient numbers, took possession of the fort. We, who had changed masters, but were still prisoners, were lodged in the house of the commandant, and strictly guarded.

"Early the next morning, a General Council was held, in which the Chipeways complained much of the conduct of the Ottawas in robbing them of their prisoners; alledging that all the Indians, the Ottawas alone excepted, were at war with the English; that Pontiac had taken De'troit; that the King of France had awoke, and re-possessioned himself of Quebec and Montreal, and that the English were meeting destruction, not only at Michilimackinac, but in every other part of the world. From all this they inferred that it became the Ottawas to restore the prisoners, and to join in the war; and the speech was followed by large presents, being part of the plunder of the fort, and which was previously heaped in the center of the room. The Indians rarely make their answers till the day after they have heard the arguments offered. They did not depart from their usual custom on this occasion and the Council, therefore adjourned.

"We, the prisoners whose fate was thus in controversy, were unacquainted, at the time, with this transaction; and therefore enjoyed a night of tolerable tranquility, not in the least suspecting the reverse which was preparing for us.

*Beaver Islands.

Which of the arguments of the Chipeways, or whether or not all were deemed valid by the Ottawas, I can not say, but the Council was resumed at an early hour in the morning, and after several speeches had been made in it, the prisoners were sent for and returned to the Chipeways.

"The Ottawas, who now gave us into the hands of the Chipeways, had themselves declared that the latter designed no other than to kill us, and *make broth of us*. The Chipeways, as soon as we were restored to them, marched us to a village of their own, situated on the point which is below the fort, and put us into a lodge, already the prison of fourteen soldiers, tied two and two, with each a rope around his neck, and made fast to a pole which might be called the supporter of the building.

"I was left untied; but I passed a night sleepless, and full of wretchedness. My bed was the bare ground, and I was again reduced to an old shirt, as my entire apparel; the blanket which I received, through the generosity of M. Cuchoise, having been taken from me among the Ottawas, when they seized upon myself and the others, at Wagoshence. I was besides in want of food, having for two days eaten nothing. I confess that in the canoe with the Chipeways, I was offered bread—but bread with what accompaniment! They had a loaf, which they cut with the same knives that they had employed in the massacre—knives still covered with blood. The blood they moistened with spittle, and rubbing it on the bread, offered this for food to their prisoners, telling them to eat the blood of their countrymen.

"Such was my situation on the morning of the seventh of June, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three. But a few hours produced an event which gave still a new color to my lot. Toward noon, when the great war-chief, in company with Wenniway, was seated at the opposite end of the lodge, my friend and brother, Wawatam, suddenly came in. During the four days preceding, I had often wondered what had become of him. In passing by, he gave me his hand, but went immediately toward the great chief, by the side of whom and Wenniway he sat himself down. The most uninterrupted silence prevailed, each smoking his pipe and, this done, Wawatam arose and left the lodge, saying to me as he passed, 'Take courage.'

"An hour elapsed, during which several chiefs entered, and preparations appeared to be making for a council. At length, Wawatam re-entered the lodge, followed by his wife, and both loaded with merchandise, which they carried up to the chiefs, and laid in a heap before them. Some moments of silence followed, at the end of which Wawatam pronounced a speech, every word of which, to me was of extraordinary interest:—

"‘Friends and relations,’ he began, ‘what is it that I shall say? You know what I feel. You all have friends and brothers and children whom as yourselves you love; and you—what would you experience, did you, like me, behold your dearest friend, your brother, in the condition of a slave; a slave, exposed every moment to insult and to menaces of death? This case, as you all know, is mine. See there (pointing to myself), my friend and brother among slaves—himself a slave!’

"‘You all well know that, long before the war began, I adopted him as my brother. From that moment, he became one of my family, so that no change of circumstances could break the cord which fastened us together. He is my brother, and because I am your relation, he is therefore your relation too. And how, being your relation, can he be your slave?’

"‘On the day on which the war began, you were fearful lest, on this very account, I should reveal your secret. You requested, therefore, that I would leave the fort, and even cross the lake. I did so, but I did it with reluctance. I did it with reluctance, notwithstanding that you, Menchwehna (Minavavana), who had the command in this enterprise, gave me your promise that you would protect my friend, delivering him from all danger, and giving him safety to me. The performance of this promise I now claim. I come not with empty hands to ask it. You, Menchwehna, best know whether or not, as it respects yourself, you have kept your word; but I bring these goods to buy off every claim which any man among you all may have on my brother, as his prisoner.’

"Wawatam having ceased, the pipes were again filled; and, after they had finished, a further period of silence followed. At the end of this Menchwehna arose and gave his reply:

“‘My relation and brother,’ said he, ‘what you have spoken is the truth. We were acquainted with the friendship which subsisted between yourself and the Englishman in whose behalf you have now addressed us. We knew the danger of having our secret discovered, and the consequences which must follow; and you say truly that we requested you to leave the fort. This we did out of regard for you and your family; for, if a discovery of our design had been made, you would have been blamed, whether guilty or not; and you would thus have been involved in difficulties from which you could not have extricated yourself.

“‘It is also true that I promised you to take care of your friend; and this promise I performed by desiring my son, at the moment of assault, to seek him out and bring him to my lodge. He went accordingly, but could not find him. The day after I sent him to Langdale’s, when he was informed that your friend was safe; and had it not been that the Indians were then drinking rum which had been found in the fort, he would have brought him home with him, according to my orders. I am very glad to find that your friend has escaped. We accept your present; and you may take him home with you.’

“Wawatam thanked the assembled chiefs, and taking me by the hand, led me to his lodge, which was at the distance of a few yards only from the prison-lodge. My entrance appeared to give joy to the whole family; food was immediately prepared for me, and I now ate the first hearty meal which I had made since my capture. I found myself one of the family; and but that I had still my fears as to the other Indians, I felt as happy as the situation could allow.

“In the course of the next morning, I was alarmed by a noise in the prison-lodge; and looking through the opening of the lodge in which I was, I saw seven dead bodies of white men dragged forth. Upon my inquiry into the occasion, I was informed that a certain chief, called by the Canadians *Le Grand Sabel*, had not long before arrived from his winter’s hunt; and that he, having been absent when the war began, and being now desirous of manifesting to the Indians at large his hearty concurrence in what they had done, had gone into the prison-lodge, and there, with

his knife, put the seven men, whose bodies I had seen, to death.

"Shortly after, two of the Indians took one of the dead bodies, which they chose as being the fattest, cut off the head, and divided the whole into five parts, one of which was put into each of five kettles, hung over as many fires, kindled for this purpose at the door of the prison-lodge. Soon after things were so far prepared, a message came to our lodge, with an invitation to Wawatam to assist at the feast.

"An invitation to a feast is given by him who is the master of it. Small cuttings of cedar-wood, of about four inches in length, supply the place of cards; and the bearer, by word of mouth, states the particulars. Wawatam obeyed the summons, taking with him, as is usual, to the place of entertainment, his dish and spoon. After an absence of about half an hour, he returned, bringing in his dish a human hand, and a large piece of flesh. He did not appear to relish the repast, but told me that it was then, and always had been, the custom among all the Indian nations, when returning from war, or on overcoming their enemies, to make a war-feast from among the slain. This, he said, inspired the warrior with courage in attack; and bred him to meet death with fearlessness.

"In the evening of the same day, a large canoe, such as those which come from Montreal, was seen advancing to the fort. It was full of men, and I distinguished several passengers. The Indian cry was made in the village, a general muster ordered, and, to the number of two hundred, they marched up to the fort, where the canoe was expected to land. The canoe, suspecting nothing, came boldly to the fort, where the passengers, as being English traders, were seized, dragged through the water, beaten, reviled, marched to the prison-lodge, and there stripped of their clothes, and confined.

"Of the English traders that fell into the hands of the Indians, at the capture of the fort, Mr. Tracy was the only one who lost his life. Mr. Ezekiel Solomons and Mr. Henry Bostwick were taken by the Ottawas, and, after the peace carried down to Montreal, and there ransomed. Of ninety troops, about seventy were killed; the rest, together with

those of the posts in the Bay des Puants, and at the river Saint Joseph, were also kept in safety by the Ottawas, till the peace, and then either freely restored, or ransomed at Montreal. The Ottawas never overcame their disgust at the neglect with which they had been treated, in the beginning of the war, by those who afterward desired their assistance as allies."

THE ESCAPE OF HENRY AND OTHERS.

The part of the Ottawas played at Michilimackinac will readily explain Indian character. They had rescued Henry and his companions from their captors and bore them back to the fort, of which they took possession, with the other prisoners, to the dismay of the Chippewas. It was not for any good will to the prisoners, but out of revenge because the Chippewas made the attack without consulting or informing them. They held a council and gave up Henry and some of the prisoners, but the officers and several soldiers were retained and carried to L'Arbre Croche by the Ottawas. Here Father Janois influenced the Indians to treat them with kindness. From that place Ethrington sent a letter by Father Janois to Major Gladwin at Detroit, and one Lieutenant Gorell at Green Bay by an Ottawa Indian. These letters both contained brief accounts of the massacre and an entreaty for assistance. The following was addressed to Gorell:

Michilimackinac, June 11, 1763.

"Dear Sir:—This place was taken by surprise on the fourth instant by the Chippewas (Ojibwas), at which time Lieutenant Jamette and twenty* men were killed, and all the rest taken prisoners; but our good friends the Ottawas have taken Lieutenant Leslie, me, and eleven men out of their hands, and have promised to reinstate us again. You'll therefore on the receipt of this, which I send by a canoe of Ottawas, set out with all your garrison, and what English traders you have with you and come with the Indian who gives you this, who will conduct you safe to me. You must be sure to follow the instruction you receive from the bearer of this, as you are by no means to come to this post before you see me at the village, twenty miles from this. * * * I must once more beg you'll lose no time in coming to me; at the same time be

*Seventy. B

very careful, and always be on your guard. I long much to see you and am, dear sir,

"Your most humble servant,
"Geo. Ethrington.

The following is from Parkman: "The Conspiracy of Pontiac," Volume II, pages 336, 337. "A copy of the original was procured from the State Paper Office of London."

Michilimackinac, June 12, 1763.

"Sir:—Notwithstanding that I wrote you in my last that all the savages were arrived, and that everything seemed in perfect tranquility, yet, on the 2nd instant, the Chippewas, who live in a place near this fort, assembled to play ball as they have done almost every day since their arrival. They played from morning; then throwing their ball close to the gate, and observing Lieut. Leslie and me a few paces out of it, they came behind us, seized and carried us into the woods.

"In the meantime the rest rushed into the Fort, where they found their squaws whom they had previously planted there, with their hatchets hid under their blankets, which they took, and in an instant killed Lieut. Jamez and fifteen* rank and file, and a trader named Tracy. They wounded two, and took the rest of the garrison, five (seven, Henry) of whom they have since killed.†

"They made prisoners of all the English Traders, and robbed them of every thing they had; but they offered no violence to the persons or property of any of the Frenchmen.

"When the massacre was over, Messrs, Langdale and Farle the interpreter, came down to the place where Lieut. Leslie and I were prisoners; and on their giving themselves as security to return us when demanded, they obtained leave for us to go to the Fort, under a guard of savages, which gave time by the assistance of the gentlemen above mentioned, to send for the Outaways, who came down on the first notice, and were very much displeased at what the Chippewas had done. Since the arrival of the Outaways they have done everything in their power to serve us, and with what prisoners the Chippeways had given them, and what they have bought, I have now with me Lieut. Leslie and eleven privates; and the other four of the Garrison who are yet living, remain in the hands of the Chippeways.

"The Chippeways, who were superior in number to the Outaways, have declared in Council to them that if they do not remove us out of the Fort, they will cut off all communication to this Post, by which means all the Convoys of Merchants from Montreal, LaBaye, St. Joseph, and the upper posts would perish. But if the news of your post being attacked (which they say was the reason why they took up the hatchet) be false, and

*Seventy. B. †Not killed. B.

you can send us a strong reinforcement, with provisions, etc., accompanied by some of your savages, I believe the post might be re-established again.

"Since this affair happened, two canoes arrived from Montreal, which put it in my power to make a present to the Ottawa nation, who very well deserve anything that can be done for them.

"I have been very much obliged to Messrs. Langdale and Farle, the interpreter, as likewise to the Jesuit, for the many good offices they have done us on this occasion. The Priest seems inclinable to go down to your post for a day or two, which I am very glad of, as he is a very good man, and had a great deal to say with the savages, hereabout, who will believe every thing he tells them on his return, which I hope will be soon. The Outaways say they will take Lieut. Leslie, me, and the eleven men which I mentioned before were in their hands, up to their village and there keep us, till they hear what is doing at your Post. They have sent this court for that purpose.

"I refer you to the Priest for the particulars of this melancholy affair, and am, Dear Sir,

Yours very sincerely,
(Signed) Geo. Etherington.

"To Major Gladwin.

"P. S. The Indians that are to carry the Priest to Detroit will not undertake to land him at the Fort, but at some of the Indian villages near it, so you must not take it amiss that he does not pay you the first visit. And once more I beg that nothing may stop your sending of him back, the next day after his arrival, if possible, as we shall be at a great loss for want of him, and I make no doubt that you will do all in your power to make peace, as you see the situation we are in, and send up provisions as soon as possible, and ammunition, as what we had was pillaged by the savages.

Adieu, Geo. Etherington."

When Father Janois reached Detroit he found the place closely besieged, and consequently no assistance could come from that quarter; but at Green Bay the case was otherwise. With seventeen men, Lieutenant Gorell had taken possession of that post in 1761, and, by a system of good management, had succeeded in allaying the hostility of the savages and securing the friendship of at least a part of the tribes around him. On receiving Etherington's letter, Gorrell told the Indians what the Ojibwas had done, and that he and his soldiers were going to Michilimackinac to restore order, adding that, during his absence, he recommended the fort to their care. Presents were distributed among them, and advantage taken of every circumstance that could pos-

sibly be made to favor the English cause; so that when the party was ready to embark, ninety warriors proposed to escort the garrison on its way.

Arriving at L'Arbre Croche, where Captain Ethrington, Lieutenant Lesslie, and eleven men were yet detained as prisoners, Gorell received an intimation that the Ottawas intended to disarm his own men also; but he promptly informed them that such an attempt would meet with vigorous resistance, and the Indians desisted. Several days were now spent in holding councils. The Indians from Green Bay requested the Ottawas to set their prisoners at liberty, to which the latter at length assented. Thinking only of how they might escape the presence of their troublesome and treacherous foes, they prepared to depart. One difficulty, however, yet remained. The Ojibwas had declared that they would prevent the English from passing down to Montreal, and again they had recourse to a Council. A reversion of feeling, as we shall soon see, had already taken place among the Ojibwa chiefs; and at length, though reluctantly, they yielded the point. On the eighteenth day of July, escorted by a fleet of Indian canoes, the English left L'Arbre Croche; and on the thirteenth day of August all arrived in safety at Montreal, leaving not a British soldier in the region of the lakes, except at Detroit.

Let us go back now and hear Henry to the end of his story:

"In the morning of the ninth of June, a General Council was held, at which it was agreed to remove to the island of Michilimackinac, as a more defensible situation in the event of an attack by the English. The Indians had begun to entertain apprehensions of a want of strength. No news had reached them from the Potawatomes, in the Bay des Puants, and they are uncertain whether or not the Monomins* would join them. They even feared that the Sioux would take the English side. This resolution fixed, they prepared for a speedy retreat. At noon the camp was broken

*Monomines or Malamines. * * * Substitution of l for n and n for l makes one of the differences in the Chipewa and Algonquin dialects. In the mouth of the Algonquin it is Michilimackinac, in that of the Chipeway, Michinimackinac.—[Henry, page 107.]

up, and we embarked, taking with us the prisoners that were still undisposed of. On our passage, we encountered a gale of wind, and there were some appearances of danger. To avert it, a dog, of which the legs were previously tied together, was thrown into the lake—an offering designed to soothe the angry passions of some offended Manitou.

“As we approached the island, two women in the canoe in which I was, began to utter melancholy and hideous cries, Precarious as my condition still remained, I experienced some sensations of alarm from those dismal sounds, of which I could not then discover the occasion. Subsequently I learned that it is customary for the women, on passing near the burial-places of relations, never to omit the practice of which I was now a witness and by which they intend to denote their grief.

“By the approach of evening we reached the island in safety, and the women were not long in erecting our cabins. In the morning there was a muster of the Indians, at which there were found three hundred and fifty fighting men. In the course of the day there arrived a canoe from Detroit, with ambassadors, who endeavored to prevail on the Indians to repair thither to the assistance of Pontiac; but fear was now the prevailing passion. A guard was kept during the day, and a watch by night, and alarms were very frequently spread. Had an enemy appeared, all the prisoners would have been put to death; and I suspected that, as an Englishman, I should share their fate.

“Several days had now passed, when, one morning, a continued alarm prevailed, and I saw Indians running in a confused manner toward the beach. In a short time I learned that two large canoes from Montreal were in sight.

“All the Indian canoes were immediately manned, and those from Montreal were surrounded and seized as they turned a point, behind which a flotilla had been concealed. The goods were consigned to a Mr. Levy, and would have been saved if the canoe-men had called them French property but they were terrified and disguised nothing.

“In the canoes was a large proportion of liquor—a dangerous acquisition, and one which threatened disturbance among the Indians, even to a loss of their dearest friends. Wawatam, always watchful of my safety, no sooner heard

the noise of drunkenness which, in the evening, did not fail to begin, than he represented to me the danger of remaining in the village, and owned that he could not himself resist the temptation of joining his comrades in the debauch. That I might escape all mischief, he therefore requested that I would accompany him to the mountain, where I was to remain hidden till the liquor should be drank. We ascended the mountain accordingly. It is the mountain which constitutes the high land in the middle of the island of which I have spoken before, as of a figure considered as resembling a *turtle*, and therefore called *Michilimackinac*. It is thickly covered with wood and very rocky toward the top. After walking more than half a mile, we came to a large rock, at the base of which was an opening, dark within, and appearing to be the entrance of a cave.* Here Wawatam recommended that I should take up my lodging, and by all means remain till he returned.

“On going in the cave,* of which the entrance was nearly ten feet wide, I found the further end to be rounded in its shape, like that of an oven, but with a further aperture, too small, however, to be explored. After thus looking around me, I broke small branches from the trees and spread them for a bed, then wrapped myself in my blankets and slept till daybreak. On awakening, I felt myself incommoded by some object upon which I lay, and removing it, found it to be a bone. This I supposed to be that of a deer, or some other animal, and what might very naturally be looked for in the place in which I was; but when daylight visited my chamber I discovered, with some feelings of horror, that I was lying on nothing less than a heap of human bones and skulls, which covered all the floor!

“The day passed without the return of Wawatam, and without food. As night approached, I found myself unable to meet its darkness in the charnel-house, which, nevertheless, I had viewed free from uneasiness during the day. I chose, therefore, an adjacent bush for this night’s lodging, and slept under it as before; but in the morning I awoke hungry and dispirited, and almost envying the dry bones,

*Skull Cave.

to the view of which I returned. In length the sound of a foot reached me, and my Indian friend appeared, making many apologies for his long absence, the cause of which was an unfortunate excess in the enjoyment of his liquor.

"This point being explained, I mentioned the extraordinary sight that had presented itself in the cave of which he had commended my slumbers. He had never heard of its existence before, and, upon examining the cave together, we saw reason to believe that it had been anciently filled with human bodies.

"On returning to the lodge, I experienced a cordial reception from the family, which consisted of the wife of my friend, his two sons, of whom the eldest was married, and

whose wife and a daughter of thirteen years of age completed the list.

"Wawatam related to the other Indians the adventure of the bones. All of them expressed surprise at hearing it, and declared that they had never been aware of the contents of the cave before. After visiting it, which they immediately did, almost every one offered a different opinion as to its history.

Some advanced, that a period when the waters overflowed the land (an event which makes a distinguished figure in the history of their world), the inhabitants of this island had fled into the cave, and been there drowned; others, that those same inhabitants, when the Hurons made war upon them (as tradition says they did), hid themselves in the cave, and, being discovered, were there massacred. For myself, I am disposed to believe that this cave was an ancient receptacle of the bones of prisoners sacrificed and devoured at war-feasts. I have always observed that the Indians pay particular attention to the bones of sacrifices, preserving



them unbroken, and depositing them in some place kept exclusively for that purpose.

"A few days after this occurrence, Menehwehna [Minavavana], whom I now found to be the great chief of the village of Michilimackinac, came to the lodge of my friend, and when the usual ceremony of smoking was finished, he observed that Indians were now daily arriving from Detroit, some of whom had lost relations or friends in the war, and who would certainly retaliate on any Englishman they found, upon which account his errand was to advise that I should be dressed like an Indian, an expedient whence I might hope to escape all future insult.

"I could not but consent to the proposal; and the chief was so kind as to assist my friend and his family in effecting that very day the desired metamorphosis. My hair was cut off and my head shaved, with the exception of a spot on the crown of about twice the diameter of a crown-piece. My face was painted with three or four different colors, some parts of it red, and others black. A shirt was provided for me, painted with vermilion mixed with grease. A large collar of wampum was put around my neck, and another suspended on my breast. Both my arms were decorated with large bands of silver above the elbow, besides several smaller ones on the wrists; and my legs were covered with *mitasses*, a kind of hose, made, as is the favorite fashion, of scarlet cloth. Over all I was to wear a scarlet mantle or blanket, and on my head a large bunch of feathers. I parted, not without some regret, with the long hair which was natural to it, and which I fancied to be ornamental; but the ladies of the family, and of the village in general, appeared to think my person improved, and now condescended to call me handsome, even among Indians.

"Protected in a great measure by this disguise, I felt myself more at liberty than before; and the season being arrived in which my clerks from the interior were to be expected, and some part of my property, as I had a right to hope, recovered, I begged the favor of Wawatam that he would enable me to pay a short visit to Michilimackinac. He did not fail to comply, and I succeeded in finding my clerks; but, either through the disturbed state of the country, as they represented to be the case or through their mis-

conduct, as I had reason to think, I obtained nothing; and nothing, or almost nothing, I now began to think would be all that I should need during the rest of my life. To fish and to hunt, to collect a few skins and exchange them for necessities, was all that I seemed destined to do and to acquire for the future.

"I returned to the Indian village, where at this time much scarcity of food prevailed. We were often for twenty-four hours without eating, and when in the morning we had no victuals for the day before us, the custom was to black our faces with grease and charcoal, and exhibit through resignation a temper as cheerful as if in the midst of plenty. A repetition of the evil, however, soon induced us to leave the island in search of food, and accordingly we departed for the Bay of Bouchitaony,* distant eight leagues, and where we found plenty of wild fowl and fish."

Leaving that bay, Henry, with his friend Wawatam and family, came to St. Martin's Island, where, in the enjoyment of an excellent and plentiful supply of food, they remained until the twenty-sixth of August. "At this time," continues the writer, "the autumn being at hand, and a sure prospect of increased security from hostile Indians afforded, Wawatam proposed going to his intended wintering-grounds. The removal was a subject of the greatest joy to myself; on account of the frequent insults to which I had still to submit from the Indians of our band or village, and to escape from which I would freely have gone almost anywhere. At our wintering-grounds we were to be alone; for the Indian families in the countries of which I write separate in the winter season for the convenience as well of subsistence as of the chase, and reassociate in the spring and summer.

"In preparation, our first business was to sail for Michilimackinac, where, being arrived, we procured from a Canadian trader, on credit, some trifling articles, together with ammunition and two bushels of maize. This done, we steered directly for Lake Michigan. At L'Arbre Croche we stopped one day, on a visit to the Ottawas, where all the people, and

*Now St. Martin's Bay.

particularly Okinochumaki, the chief—the same who took me from the Chippewas—behaved with great civility and kindness. 'The chief presented me with a bag of maize.'

From L'Arbre Croche they proceeded directly to the mouth of the river Aux Sables, which, Henry tells us, is "on the southern side of the lake," and as they hunted along their way, Henry enjoyed a personal freedom of which he had long been deprived, and became as expert in the Indian pursuits as the Indians themselves. The winter was spent in the chase. "By degrees," says Henry, "I became familiarized with this kind of life, and had it not been for the idea of which I could not divert my mind, that I was living among savages, and for the whispers of a lingering hope that I should one day be released from it—or if I could have forgotten that I had ever been otherwise than as I then was—I could have enjoyed as much happiness in this as in any other situation."

As spring approached the hunters began their preparations for returning to Michilimackinac, but their faces were no sooner turned toward the scene of the massacre than all began to fear an attack from the English, on account of the constant dreams of the more aged women. Henry labored, but in vain, to allay their fears, but on the twenty-fifth of April the little party embarked in their canoes.

Henry writes: "At La Grande Traverse we met a large party of Indians, who appeared to labor, like ourselves, under considerable alarm, and who dared proceed no further lest they should be destroyed by the English. Frequent councils of the united bands were held, and interrogations were continually put to myself as to whether or not I knew of any design to attack them. I found that they believed it possible for me to have a foreknowledge of events, and to be informed by dreams of all things doing at a distance.

"Protestations of my ignorance were received with but little satisfaction, and incurred the suspicion of a design to conceal my knowledge. On this account, therefore, or because I saw them tormented with fears which had nothing but imagination to rest upon, I told them at length that I knew there was no enemy to insult them, and that they might proceed to Michilimackinac without danger from the English. I further, and with more confidence, declared that

if ever my countrymen returned to Michilimackinac, I would recommend them to their favor, on account of the good treatment which I had received from them. Thus encouraged, they embarked at an early hour the next morning. In crossing the bay, we experienced a storm of thunder and lightning.

"Our port was the village of L'Arbre Croche, which we reached in safety, and where we staid till the following day. At this village we found several persons who had lately been at Michilimackinac, and from them we had the satisfaction of learning that all was quiet there. The remainder of our voyage was therefore performed with confidence.

"In the evening of the twenty-seventh we landed at the fort, which now contained only two French traders. The Indians who had arrived before us were very few in number, and by all who were of our party I was very kindly used. I had the entire freedom both of the fort and camp.

"Wawatam and myself settled our stock, and paid our debts; and, this done, I found that my share of what was left consisted in a hundred beaver-skins, sixty racoon-skins, and six Otter, of the total value of about one hundred and sixty dollars. With these earnings of my winter's toil, I proposed to purchase clothes, of which I was much in need, having been six months without a shirt; but on inquiring into the prices of goods, I found that all my funds would not go far. I was able, however, to buy two shirts, at ten pounds of beaver each; a pair of *leggings*, or pantaloons, of scarlet cloth, which, with the ribbon to garnish them *fashionably*, cost me fifteen pounds of beaver; a blanket, at twenty pounds of beaver; and some other articles at proportionable rates. In this manner my wealth was soon reduced, but not before I had laid in a good stock of ammunition and tobacco. To the use of the latter I had become much attached through the winter. It was my principal recreation, after returning from the chase; for my companions in the lodge were unaccustomed to pass their time in conversation. Among the Indians the topics of conversation are but few, and limited, for the most part, to the transactions of the day, the number of animals which they have killed, and of those which have escaped their pursuit, and other incidents of the chase. Indeed, the causes of

taciturnity among the Indians may be easily understood if we consider how many occasions of speech which present themselves to us are utterly unknown to them,—the records of history, the pursuits of science, the disquisitions of philosophy, the systems of politics, the business and the amusements of the day, and the transactions of the four corners of the world.

“Eight days had passed in tranquility when there arrived a band of Indians from the Bay of Saguenau. They had assisted at the siege of Detroit, and came to muster as many recruits for that service as they could. For my own part, I was soon informed that, as I was the only Englishman in the place, they proposed to kill me in order to give their friends a mess of English broth, to raise their courage.

“This intelligence was not the most agreeable kind, and, in consequence of receiving it, I requested my friend to carry me to the Sault de Sainte Marie, at which place I knew the Indians to be peaceably inclined, and that M. Cadotte enjoyed a powerful influence over their conduct. They considered M. Cadotte as their chief, and he was not only my friend, but a friend to the English. It was by him that the Chipeways of Lake Superior were prevented from joining Pontiac.

“Wawatam was not slow to exert himself for my preservation, but, leaving Michilimackinac in the night, transported myself and all his lodge to Point St. Ignace, on the opposite side of the strait. Here we remained till daylight, and then went into the Bay of Boutchitaony, in which we spent three days in fishing and hunting, and where we found plenty of wild fowl. Leaving the bay we made for the Isle aux Outardes, where we were obliged to put in on account of the wind's coming ahead. We proposed sailing for the Sault the next morning.

“But when the morning came Wawatam's wife complained that she was sick, adding that she had had bad dreams, and knew if we went to the Sault we should all be destroyed. To have argued at this time against the infallibility of dreams would have been extremely inadvisable, since I should have appeared to be guilty, not only of an odious want of faith, but also of a still more odious want of sensibility to the possible calamities of a family which had

done so much for the alleviation of mine. I was silent, but the disappointment seemed to seal my fate. No prospect opened to console me. To return to Michilimackinac could only insure my destruction, and to remain at the island was to brave almost equal danger, since it lay in the direct route between the fort and the Missisaki, along which the Indians from Detroit were hourly expected to pass on the business of their mission. I doubted not, but taking advantage of the solitary situation of the family, they would carry into execution their design of killing me.

"Unable therefore to take any part in the direction of our course, but a prey at the same time to the most anxious thoughts as to my own condition, I passed all the day on the highest part to which I could climb of a tall tree, and whence the lake on both sides of the island lay open to my view. Here I might hope to learn at the earliest possible moment the approach of canoes, and by this means be warned in time to conceal myself.

"On the second morning I returned, as soon as it was light, to my watch-tower, on which I had not been long, before I discovered a sail coming from Michilimackinac. The sail was a white one, and much larger than those usually employed by the northern Indians. I therefore indulged a hope that it might be a Canadian canoe on its voyage to Montreal, and that I might be able to prevail upon the crew to take me with them, and thus release me from all my troubles.

"My hopes continued to gain strength; for I soon persuaded myself that the manner in which the paddles were used on board the canoe was Canadian, and not Indian. My spirits were elated; but disappointment had become so usual with me, that I could not suffer myself to look to the event with any strength of confidence. Enough, however, appeared at length to demonstrate itself to induce me to descend the tree and repair to the lodge with my tidings and schemes of liberty. The family congratulated me on the approach and so fair an opportunity to escape, and my father and brother (for he was alternately each of these) lit his pipe and presented it to me, saying: 'My son, this may be the last time that ever you and I shall smoke out of the same pipe! I am sorry to part with you. You know the

affection which I have always borne you, and the dangers to which I have exposed myself and family to preserve you from your enemies, and I am happy to find that my efforts promise not to have been in vain.' At this time a boy came into the lodge, informing us that the canoe had come from Michilimackinac, and was bound to the Sault de Sainte Marie. It was manned by three Canadians, and was carrying home Madame Cadotte, wife of M. Cadotte, already mentioned.

"My hopes of going to Montreal being now dissipated, I resolved on accompanying Madame Cadotte, with her permission, to the Sault. On communicating my wishes to Madame Cadotte, she cheerfully acceded to them. Madame Cadotte, as I have already mentioned, was an Indian woman of the Chipeway nation, and she was very generally respected.

"My departure fixed upon, I returned to the lodge, where I packed up my wardrobe, consisting of my two shirts, pair of *leggings*, and blanket. Besides these, I took a gun and ammunition, presenting what remained further to my host. I also returned the silver arm-bands with which the family had decorated me the year before.

"We now exchanged farewells, with an emotion entirely reciprocal. I did not quit the lodge without the most grateful sense of the many acts of goodness which I had experienced in it, nor without the sincerest respect for the virtues which I had witnessed among its members. All the family accompanied me to the beach, and the canoe had no sooner put off than Wawatam commenced an address to the Ki' chi' M'ani'to, beseeching him to take care of me, his brother, till we should next meet. This, he had told me, would not be long, as he intended to return to Michilimackinac for a short time only, and then would follow me to the Sault. We had proceeded to too great a distance to allow of our hearing his voice, before Wawatam had ceased to offer up his prayers.

"Being now no longer in the society of Indians, I laid aside the dress, putting on that of a Canadian—a molton or blanket coat over my shirt, and a handkerchief about my head, hats being very little worn in this country.

"At daybreak on the second morning of our voyage we embarked, and presently perceived several canoes behind us. As they approached, we ascertained them to be the fleet

bound for the Mississaki, of which I had been so long in dread. It amounted to twenty sail. On coming up with us and surrounding our canoe, and amid general inquiries concerning the news, an Indian challenged me for an Englishman, and his companions supported him by declaring that I looked very much like one; but I affected not to understand any of the questions which they asked me, and Madame Cadotte assured them that I was a Canadian whom she had brought on her first voyage from Montreal.

"The following day saw us safely landed at the Sault, where I experienced a generous welcome from M. Cadotte. There were thirty warriors at this place, restrained from joining in the war only by M. Cadotte's influence. Here for five days I was once more in possession of tranquility; but on the sixth a young Indian came into M. Cadotte's, saying that a canoe full of warriors had just arrived from Michilimackinac; that they had inquired for me, and that he believed their intentions to be bad. Nearly at the same time a message came from the good chief of the village, desiring me to conceal myself until he should discover the views and temper of the strangers. A garret was a second time my place of refuge; and it was not long before the Indians came to M. Cadotte's. My friend immediately informed Mut chi ki wish, their chief, who was related to his wife, of the design imputed to them of mischief against myself. Muchikiwish frankly acknowledged that they had had such a design, but added that, if displeasing to M. Cadotte, it should be abandoned. He then further stated that their errand was to raise a party of warriors to return with them to Detroit, and that it had been their intention to take me with them.

"In regard to the principal of the two objects thus disclosed, M. Cadotte proceeded to assemble all the chiefs and warriors of the village; and these, after deliberating for some time among themselves, sent for the strangers, to whom both M. Cadotte and the chief of the village addressed a speech. In these speeches, after recurring to the designs confessed to have been entertained against myself, who was now declared to be under the immediate protection of all the chiefs, by whom any insult I might sustain would be avenged, the ambassadors were temporarily told that they

might go back as they came, none of the young men of this village being foolish enough to join them.

"A moment after, a report was brought that a canoe had just arrived from Niagara. As this was a place from which every one was anxious to hear news, a message was sent to these fresh strangers, requesting them to come to the council. They came accordingly, and, being seated, a long silence ensued. At length, one of them, taking up a belt of wampum, addressed himself thus to the assembly; 'My friends and brothers, I am come with this belt from our great father, Sir William Johnson. He desired me to come to you, as his ambassador, and tell you that he is making a great feast at Fort Niagara; that his kettles are all ready, and his fires lit. He invites you to partake of the feast, in common with your friends, the Six Nations, which have all made peace with the English. He advises you to seize this opportunity of doing the same, as you can not otherwise fail of being destroyed; for the English are on their march with a great army, which will be joined by different nations of Indians. In a word, before the fall of the leaf they will be at Michilimackinac, and the Six Nations with them.'

"The tenor of this speech greatly alarmed the Indians of the Sault, who, after a very short consultation, agreed to send twenty deputies to Sir William Johnson, at Niagara. This was a project highly interesting to me, since it afforded me the means of leaving the country. I intimated this to the chief of the village, and received his promise that I should accompany the deputation.

"Very little time was proposed to be lost in setting forward on the voyage; but the occasion was of too much magnitude not to call for more than human knowledge and discretion; and preparations were accordingly made for solemnly invoking and consulting the GREAT TURTLE. In this, the first thing to be done, was the building of a large house or wigwam, within which was placed a species of tent, for the use of the priest, and reception of the spirit. The tent was formed of moose-skins, hung over a framework of wood. Five poles, or rather pillars, of five different species of timber, about ten feet in height, and eight inches in diameter, were set in a circle of about four feet in diameter. The holes made to receive them were about two feet deep; and

the pillars being set, the holes were filled up again with the earth which had been dug out. At the top, the pillars were bound together by a circular hoop, or girder. Over the whole of this edifice were spread the moose-skins, covering it at top and round the sides, and made fast with thongs of the same; except that on one side a part was left unfastened, to admit of the entrance of the priest.

"The ceremonies did not commence until the approach of night. To give light within the house, several fires were kindled round the tent. Nearly the whole village assembled in the house, and myself among the rest. It was not long before the priest appeared, almost in a state of nakedness. As he approached the tent, the skins were lifted up as much as was necessary to allow of his creeping under them on his hands and knees. His head was scarcely inside, when the edifice, massy as it has been described, began to shake; and the skins were no sooner let fall than the sounds of numerous voices were heard beneath them; some yelling, some barking as dogs, some howling like wolves; and in this horrible concert were mingled screams and sobs as of despair, anguish, and the sharpest pain. Articulate speech was also uttered, as if from human lips, but in a tongue unknown to any of the audience.

"After some time, these confused and frightful noises were succeeded by a perfect silence; and now a voice not heard before seemed to manifest the arrival of a new character in the tent. This was a low and feeble voice, resembling the cry of a young puppy. The sound was no sooner distinguished, than all the Indians clapped their hands for joy, exclaiming that this was the Chief Spirit—the *TURTLE*—the spirit that never lied! Other voices, which they had discriminated from time to time, they had previously hissed, as recognizing them to belong to evil and lying spirits, which deceived mankind. New sounds came from the tent. During the space of half an hour, a succession of songs were heard, in which diversity of voices met the ear. From his first entrance, till these songs were finished, we heard nothing in the proper voice of the priest; but now he addressed the multitude, declaring the presence of the *GREAT TURTLE*, and the spirit's readiness to answer such questions as should be proposed.

"The questions were to come from the chief of the village, who was silent, however, till after he had put a large quantity of tobacco into the tent, introducing it at the aperture. This was a sacrifice, offered to the spirit; for spirits are supposed, by the Indians, to be as fond of tobacco as themselves. The tobacco accepted, he desired the priest to inquire—Whether or not the English were preparing to make war upon the Indians and, whether or not there were at Fort Niagara a large number of English troops. These questions having been put by the priest, the tent instantly shook; and for some seconds after, it continued to rock so violently that I expected to see it leveled with the ground. All this was a prelude, as I supposed, to the answers to be given; but a terrific cry announced, with sufficient intelligibility, the departure of the *TURTLE*.

"A quarter of an hour elapsed in silence, and I waited impatiently to discover what was to be the next incident in this scene of imposture. It consisted in the return of the spirit, whose voice was again heard, and who now delivered a continued speech. The language of the *GREAT TURTLE*, like that which we had heard before, was wholly unintelligible to every ear, that of the priest excepted; and it was therefore, not till the latter gave us an interpretation, which did not commence before the spirit had finished, that we learned the purport of this extraordinary communication.

"This spirit, as we were now informed by the priest, had, during his absence, crossed Lake Huron, and even proceeded as far as Fort Niagara, which is at the head of Lake Ontario, and thence to Montreal. At Fort Niagara he had seen no great number of soldiers; but, on descending the St. Lawrence as low as Montreal, he had found the river covered with boats, and the boats filled with soldiers, in number like the leaves of the trees. He had met them on their way up the river, coming to make war upon the Indians.

"The chief had a third question to propose; and the spirit without a fresh journey to Fort Niagara, was able to give it an instant and most favorable answer. 'If,' said the chief, 'the Indians visit Sir William Johnson, will they be received as friends?'

"'Sir William Johnson' said the spirit (and after the spirit, the priest), 'Sir William Johnson will fill their canoes

with presents: with blankets, kettles, guns, gunpowder, and shot, and large barrels of rum, such as the stoutest of the Indians, will not be able to lift; and every man will return in safety to his family.' At this, the transport was universal; and, amid the clapping of hands, a hundred voices exclaimed, 'I will go too! I will go too!'

"The question of public interest being resolved, individuals were now permitted to seize the opportunity of inquiring into the condition of their absent friends, and the fate of such as were sick. I observed that the answers given to these questions allowed of much latitude of interpretation.

"The GREAT TURTLE continued to be consulted till near midnight, when all the crowd dispersed to their respective lodges.

"I was on the watch, through the scene I have described, to detect the particular contrivances by which the fraud was carried on; but such was the skill displayed in the performance, or such my deficiency of penetration, that I made no discoveries, but came away, as I went, with no more than those general surmises which will naturally be entertained by every reader."

Henry accompanied the Indian deputation, and reached Fort Niagara in safety, where he was received in the most cordial manner by Sir William Johnson.

You will doubtless be interested to know the fate of Minavavana, or the Grand Saulteur who led the Ojibwas at the massacre of Michilimackinac. The following note is from J. Carver, Esq., an English gentleman who visited Michilimackinac in the year 1766, three year after the massacre:

"The first accosted were Chippewas, inhabiting near the Ottowan lakes, who received me with great cordiality, and shook me by the hand in token of friendship. At some little distance behind these stood a chief, remarkably tall and well made, but of so stern an aspect that the most undaunted person could not behold him without feeling some degree of terror. He seemed to have passed the meridian of life, and by the mode in which he was painted and tattooed, I discovered that he was of high rank. However, I approached him in a courteous manner, and expected to have met with the



PARK VIEW WEST END
MACKINAC ISLAND

PARK VIEW, WEST END, MACKINAC ISLAND.

same reception I had done from the others; but, to my great surprise, he withheld his hand, and looking fiercely at me, said in the Chippewa tongue, 'Caurin nishishin saganosh;' that is, 'The English are no good.' As he had his tomahawk in his hand, I expected that this laconic sentence would have been followed by a blow, to prevent which I drew a pistol from my belt, and holding it in a careless position, passed close by him, to let him see I was not afraid of him.

"I learned soon after, from the other Indians, that this was a chief called by the French the Grand Saulteur, or the Great Chippewa Chief; for they denominate the Chippewas, Saulteurs. They likewise told me that he had been always a steady friend to that people, and when they delivered up Michilimackinac to the English, on their evacuation of Canada, the Great Saulteur had sworn that he would ever remain the avowed enemy of its new possessors, as the territories on which the fort is built belong to him.

"Since I came to England I have been informed that the Grand Saulteur, having rendered himself more and more disgusting to the English by his inveterate enmity toward them, was at length stabbed in his tent, as he encamped near Michilimackinac, by a trader." [Carver's Travels.]

A little more than a year after the massacre, Michilimackinac was occupied by the *coureurs de bois* and such Indian bands as chose to make it a temporary residence; but after the treaty with the Indians, Captain Howard, with a detachment of troops, was sent by Colonel Bradstreet to take possession of it, and once more the cross of St. George was a rallying point, and the protection of the adventurous traders.

IMPORTANCE OF MICHILIMACKINAC.

After a treaty of peace had been made with the Indians, and the fort reoccupied by Captain Howard's forces, confidence was restored and the fur trade resumed.

Sir William Johnson wrote to General Gage: "Johnson Hall, Jany, 15th, 1767. As Michilimackinac seems now to be our principal mart of trade and that for several reasons it should be well and Duly Inspected I think a Comissr there very necessary and shall be glad of your thoughts about it, which if agreeable to mine, I shall remove one of the



POST OF MUCHILMACKINAC AND FORT MACKINAC—VIEW FROM ROUND
ISLAND, AS SKETCHED FOR SCHOOLCRAFT

Comissr to that place early in the spring." * * * [Page 835, Documentary History of New York.]

Reply of General Gage to Sir Wm. Johnson: "New York, Jany. 25th, 1767. Michilimackinac seems to be the most material Post we have, and certainly more necessary for a Commissary than any other.

"Sir Henry Moore shall be acquainted with your desire concerning the Traders being obliged to take passes.

"It is reported that all the Traders who came this year to Missilimackinac have been permitted to ramble wherever they choose." * * * * * Tho.'s Gage."

"Sir Wm. Johnson, Bart. Johnson's Hall." [Page 873, Documentary History of New York.]

For the next thirteen years the history of the post appears to have been military routine with the annual gathering and departure of the fur traders, until the garrison was removed to Michilimackinac Island in 1780-81.

1780. Michilimackinac Island (and the present Fort Mackinac,) the Post of Michilimackinac, "September 1686. Where we, 'the French,' were established more than sixty years before."

The following year, 1764, after the massacre at South Fort Michilimackinac, the French began to move to the island and the present settlement may be said to date from that period. Although the scene of action, during the war of 1775-83, was far from the region of the straits of Mackinac the island had its part in that revolution. It was selected and garrisoned on account of its commanding position, adaptability for defense with a small force, and strategic importance.

From fear of attack by the United States forces, and "as a measure of safety," Major A. S. DePeyster commanding (South) Fort Michilimackinac, under instructions, with, "In 1779, a party of British officers, passed over from the point of the peninsula to the island of Michilimackinac to reconnoiter, with the intention of removing the fort thither." After selecting a location they asked permission of the Indians to occupy it. Some time elapsed before their consent could be obtained; consequently the removal was not effected until the ensuing summer. A government house and a few

other buildings were erected on the site of the present village, and the troops took possession on the 15th of July, 1780.

The removal of the inhabitants from the main land to the island was gradual, and the fort, which was built on the site of the present one, was not completed until 1783.

On the 4th of October, 1779, Major Patrick Sinclair, Lieutenant-Governor, arrived and assumed command of (South) Michilimackinac, relieving Major DePeyster, who left October 15, on His Majesty's sloop of war, *Welcome* bound for Detroit.

1895. For many years there was packed away with my old books and papers, the original parchment deed (see page 149) of the Island of Michilimackinac, from the Indians, in 1781, to King George III. It is missing, and was presented to me through Ronald McLeod of the Astor House, who owned the fur companies' papers and books. Major Sinclair sent to the island, November 6, 1779, the sloop of war *Welcome*, with workmen and the timbers of a house to be erected for them to live in. The government house was erected in the garden, below the present fort, on the slope, nearly in front of where the stable now (1895) stands.

February and March, 1780, when the ice was firm, the Catholic church, on the south shore, was taken down, the logs hauled over, and the church rebuilt on the old cemetery lot on Market and (old) Church streets. A government wharf was built of log cribs, filled with stone, in the bay in the front of the present south sallyport. On the 4th of November Lieutenant-Governor and Commander Sinclair moved over the island and established his headquarters.

During the winter of 1780-81 the fur companies' sloops *Welcome*, *Angelica*, *Archangel*, and schooner *De Peyster* laid up at the island, in the harbor. A block-house was completed east of the government house, on the present school lot, and in January the crews of the vessels were quartered therein.

During the fall of 1780 the sash, doors and casings and other wood work of many buildings were sent over in vessels to the island; and in the following winter the logs and timbers taken down were hauled over on the ice. Pine and cedar logs and timbers were also whip-sawed at Pine river, on the north shore, and transported. When spring came,

the traders pulled down their buildings and rafted them to the island, where the logs were again put up. Their provisions and goods were sent in boats. The entire movement of the troops were not completed until late in the summer of 1781.

The stone quarters for officers, block-houses, magazines, and walls of the fort appear to have been constructed of the hard limestone formation of the Island, quarried near by, with an idea of the security and permanency of the British Empire. Wells were dug for water supply, and there was a system for elevating water through lead pipes (bore one and one-half inch diameter) from springs at the foot of the hill, west of the fort. Water is now forced up by steam pump from the same source into a reservoir in the second story of the north block-house, and from thence distributed about the fort. Water was also conveyed through log piping to the stores, warehouses and dwellings of the Fur Company. The Island is now (1904) a city of the fourth class, closely connected by ferries with the railway lines of both peninsulas, and has a system of water works, sewerage, and electric lights unsurpassed. Also local and long distance telephone, and telegraph lines to all points. Apple, cherry and plum orchards were planted, with currants and gooseberries in the gardens. All accounts show that they raised the finest fruits and vegetables. Some of the apple trees are there to this day, and can be found at St. Ignace and vicinity. All of these fruits, and pears, raspberries, blackberries, strawberries and hardy vegetables grow to perfection in this region. The British continued to improve the fort and strengthen the position until 1796, when their troops were withdrawn to St. Joseph's Island. The ditches, without the stockade were not then completed and no work has since been done on them. The site, except for barracks, is only tenable in connection with the higher Fort George (Holmes) plateau. Mackinac's elevations and strategic positions, collectively, have been declared to be, "by nature, a perfect Gibraltar." (See page 170.)

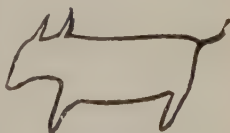
WHAT A BRITISH COMMANDER THOUGHT.

"Rt. McDouall, or McDonall, Lt. Col. Commanding Michilimackinac and Dependencies, 2d May, 1815."

"MY DEAR BULGER:— * * * Our negotiators * * * have shown themselves profoundly ignorant of the concerns of this part of the Empire. I am prostrated with grief at the restoration of this fine island—a fortress built by nature for herself." [Excerpt letter from the Bulger Papers, 1815, Wisconsin Historical Collection, Volume XIII, page 143.]

DEED OF MICHILIMACKINAC ISLAND

By these Presents we the following chiefs, Kitchie Negon or Grand Sable, Pouanas, Koupe and Magousseihigan in behalf of ourselves and all others of our Nation the Chipiwias who have or can lay claim to the herein mentioned Island, as being their representatives and Chiefs, by and with mutual consent do surrender and yield up into the hands of Lieut. Governor Sinclair for the Behalf and use of His Majesty George the Third of Great Britain, France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith, &c &c &c His Heirs Executors, Administrators forever the Island of Michilimackinac or as it is called by the Canadians La Grosse Isle (situate



KITCHIE NEGON.
His mark.



The mark of
POUANAS.

in the strait which joins the Lakes Huron and Michigan) and we do hereby make for ourselves and our Posterity a renunciation of all claims in future to said Island; We also acknowledge to have received by command of His Excellency Frederick Haldimand Esqr. Governor of the



Mark of POUANAS
& KAUSSE the same
nation but different
Chiefs.

pion, and P. Antoine Tabeau the under-written witnesses, one of which deeds is to remain with the Governor of Canada, and the other to remain at this Post to certify the same, and we promise to preserve in our Village a belt of wampum Seven feet in Length to perpetuate secure and be a lasting memorial of the said Transaction to our Nation forever hereafter, and that no defect in Deed from want of Law Forms or any other shall invalidate the same. In witness



O.K.A.

MATHEW LESSEY
DAVID RANKIN
HENRY BOSTIC

Province of Quebec, General & Commander in Chief of all His Majesty's Forces in Canada &c &c &c from the said Lieutenant Governor Sinclair on his Majesty's Behalf, the sum of Five Thousand Pounds New York currency being the adequate and compleat value of the before mentioned Island of Machilimackinac, and have signed two deeds of this tenor and date in the presence of Mathew Lessey, John McNamara, David Rankin, Henry Bostic, Benjamin Lyons, Etienne Cam-



Mark of
MAGOUSSEIGAN.

whereof We the above mentioned Chiefs do set our Hands & Seals this Twelfth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand seven Hundred and Eighty one and in the twenty-first year of His Majesty's Reign.

SIGNED,

BENJAMIN LYON
ETT CAMPION
P. AN. TABEAU

PATT SINCLAIR

Lt. Gov. & Commandant.

JOHN MOMPESSEON

Capt. Comg. a Detachment of the King's Regl.

R. B. BROOKE

Lieutenant King's or Eight Regiment.

JOHN ROBERT McDONELL

Ensign King's or Eight Regiment.

HISTORICAL RESUME AND LIST OF OFFICERS, FRENCH AND BRITISH, AT MICHILIMACKINAC

- 1610. Michili-Mackinac known to Champlain.
- 1626. Frenchmen on Michilimackinac Island before 1626.
- 1634. John Nicolet passed through the straits convoyed to Green Bay.
- 1665. Nicholas Perot, interpreter and officer, passed the straits to Green Bay.
- 1669. Father Allouez, S. J., in the straits, at St. Martin's Islands, St. Ignace, and Michilimackinac Island bound for Green Bay.
- 1669-71. Father Dablon, S. J., at Michilimackinac Island.
- 1669-71. Father Jacques Marquette, S. J., at Michilimackinac Island.
- 1671. Mission at St. Ignace de Michilimackinac founded by Marquette by direction of Dablon.
- 1672. December 1, Joliet arrived at St. Ignace.
- 1673. Marquette and Joliet started on their voyage of discovery.
- 1679. Robert Cavalier de La Salle, with Henry DeTonty, Du L'Hut and Father Hennepin arrived August 27, at St. Ignace, on the Griffon, and spent some days.
- 1680-81. Du L'Hut wintered at St. Ignace.
- 1681. M. de Villeraye commanded Michilimackinac.
- 1683. M. Oliver Morel de la Durantaye commanded Michilimackinac.
- 1684. M. de la Valtrie acted as commander of Michilimackinac, while Du L'Hut and Perot, with Ottawas, were in La Barre's campaign against the Iroquois.
- 1685. M. Oliver Morel de la Durantaye commanded Michilimackinac and dependencies.
- 1688. Baron la Hontan at Michilimackinac.



FORT MACKINAC, LOOKING EASTWARD

1690. M. de la Porc Louvigny commanded Michilimackinac and dependencies.
1694. M. de la Mothe Cadillac commanded Michilimackinac and dependencies.
1695. Cadillac advised an expedition against the Iroquois, which took the field, and many prisoners were brought back by the Michilimackinac Indians. Frontenac ordered nine posts, among them Green Bay and Sault Ste. Marie, placed subject to the command of Cadillac. A treaty of peace was made by Le Baron, a Huron chief, with the Iroquois. Thirty Iroquois scalps brought to Michilimackinac, and thirty-two prisoners, by the Pottawatomies and other Algonquin Indians.
1701. Cadillac left Michilimackinac (St. Ignace) to found Detroit and Fort Pontchartrain, taking many Indians with him. Perot and Father Enjalron at Michilimackinac.
- 1702-3. The Hurons and more Ottawas left for Detroit.
1705. The Jesuits burned their church at St. Ignace and moved, with most of the French to Quebec.
1714. Fort at Michilimackinac Fort de Buade (at St. Ignace) regarrisoned M. de Louvigny and command.
1714. Captain De Eschailions, Lieutenant Lanour and Ensign Bolestra left Montreal with a sergeant and 20 soldiers to garrison Michilimackinac (Point St. Ignace) and they were at that Post, Fort de Buade, 1717, 1718, 1721 and 1728 and after.
1721. Father Charlevoix visited Michilimackinac (at St. Ignace).
1728. M. de Ligney's expedition from Michilimackinac.
1730. M. de Buisson commanded Michilimackinac.
1742. August 12, M. de Blainville, Commandant, Michilimackinac, South Shore of Straits.
1744. M. de Vivehevet, Commandant, Michilimackinac.
1744. July 11. De Ramelia, Captain and King's Commandant at Nepigon.
1745. July 11 and 1747, May 23, Duplessis de Moramont, King's Commandant at Cammanettigsia.
1745. August 25. and 1746, June 29, Noyelle, Jr., second in command at Michilimackinac.
1745. Louis de la Corne, Captain and King's Commandant, Michilimackinac.
1747. Feb. 1, June 20 and Sept. 1. M. de Noyelle, jr., Commandant, Michilimackinac.
1748. Feb. 28, 1749, March 11 to June 21, M. Jacques Legardeur de St. Pierre, Commandant, Michilimackinac.
1749. Jan. 27, Louis Legardeur, Chevalier de Repentigny, second in command at Michilimackinac.
1749. August 29, Mons. Godefroy, Officer of Troops.
1750. March 24 and 1752, June 4, Mons. Duplessis Faber, Captain and King's Commandant at Michilimackinac, Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis.

- 1751. October 8, Mons. Duplessis, Jr., second in command at Michilimackinac.
- 1752. June 4, Mons. Beaujeu de Villemonde, Captain and King's Commandant at Camanitigousa.
- 1753. July 8 and 1754, Aug. 15, Mons. Marin, King's Commandant, Post of La Baie. (Green Bay.)
- 1753. July 18; 1754, May 8, 1758, Feb. 23, June 29, July 16 and Oct. 17; 1759, Jan. 30; 1760, May 25 and Sept. 8, Mons de Beaujeu de Villemonde, Captain and King's Commandant at Michilimackinac.
- 1754. July 8 and 1755, May 25, Mons. Herbin, Captain and King's Commandant at Michilimackinac.
- 1755. Jan 8, Louis Legardeur, Chevalier de Repentigny. King's Commandant at the Sault.
- 1755. Aug. 24, Louis Legardeur, Chevalier de Repentigny, Lieutenant of Infantry.
- 1756. April 28, Charles de L'Anglade, Officer of Troops.
- 1756. June 19, Mons. Hertelle Beaubaffin, King's Commandant at _____.
- 1756. July 19, Mons. Couterot, Lieutenant of Infantry.
- 1758. July 2, Mons. de L'Anglade, second in command at Michilimackinac.
- 1758. July 13, Louis Legardeur, Chevalier de Repentigny, Officer at Michilimackinac.
- 1761. Captain Belfour, 80th Regiment, commanded Michilimackinac.
- 1761. October 21, Lieutenant Leslie, 60th Royal Amer., commanded Michilimackinac.
- 1763. Geo. Etherington, Major, 60th Royal Amer., commanded Michilimackinac. Major Jamette at Michilimackinac.
- 1763. Massacre at Michilimackinac (now Mackinaw City, South Shore), June 4.
- 1764. Captain Howard commanded Michilimackinac.
- 1774 to 1779. A. S. De Peyster, Major Commanding Michilimackinac and Dependencies.
- 1779 to 1782. Patrick Sinclair, Major and Lieutenant-Governor, commanding Michilimackinac and Dependencies.
- 1782 to 1787. May 10, Daniel Robertson, Captain commanding Michilimackinac and Dependencies.
- 1784. July 31, Phil. B. Fry, Ensign 8th, or King's Regiment.
- 1784. July 31, George Clowes, Lieutenant 8th, or King's Regiment.
- 1791. Nov. 15, Edward Charleton, Captain 5th Regiment Foot, commanding Michilimackinac.
- 1791. Nov. 15, J. M. Hamilton, Ensign 5th Regiment Foot.
- 1791. Nov. 15, Benjamin Rocha, Lieutenant 5th Foot.
- 1791. Nov. 15, H. Headowe, Ensign 5th Foot.
- 1779. Thomas Bennett, Lieutenant and Adjutant, King's 8th Regiment.
- 1780. David Mitchell, Assistant Surgeon, King's 8th Regiment, J. F. Phillips, Lieutenant, Fort Adjutant.

- 1779-82. Patrick Sinclair, Captain, 8th Regiment, and Major, commanded Michilimackinac and Dependencies.
1780. July 15, Major Sinclair transferred part of his troops to Michilimackinac (Mackinac) Island and there established the 3d Post of Michilimackinac (Fort Mackinac); and on November 4, following, Sinclair himself removed to the island permanently.
1781. John Mompesson, Captain, commanded detachment of King's Regiment; R. Brook, Lieutenant, King's or 8th Regiment; John Robert McDonall, Ensign, King's or 8th Regiment.
- 1782-87. Daniel Robertson, Captain, 84th Regiment, commanded Michilimackinac and Dependencies to May 10, 1787.
- 1791-96. Edward Charleton, Captain, 5th Regiment Foot, commanded Michilimackinac.
1796. Occupation of Michilimackinac Island by the troops of the United States.
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MICHILIMACKINAC UNDER THE UNITED STATES

At the close of 1775-83 the independence of the United States of America was acknowledged by Great Britain and by the terms of the Treaty of Paris, September 3, 1783, the post of Michilimackinac (Mackinac Island), with others on the lakes, became a part of the Republic. On various pretexts the British retained possession of this and other forts until after the treaty promulgated on the 29th of February, 1796, in which it was stipulated that all British troops should be withdrawn from posts within the boundaries by June 1, 1796. By a treaty between the United States and the Potawatomes, Chippewas, Ottawas, Shawnees, Delawares and other Indian tribes, at Greenville, Ohio, August 3, 1795, the Indians ceded the fort of Michilimackinac and Island, with the adjacent mainland, wherever the title of the Indians had been extinguished by grants and gifts to the French and English governments, and a piece of land north of Michilimackinac Island, on the main shore, to measure six miles along the strait between Lakes Huron and Michigan, extending three miles back from the water. The Chippewas also included Bois Blanc Island as a voluntary gift.

1796. The first United States troops to occupy Fort Mackinac (Michilimackinac Island) was the command of

Major Henry Burbeck, who, with one company of Artillerists and Engineers, and a company of the 1st Infantry and three officers arrived in October, 1796, and took possession. In 1802, Reverend David Bacon, Presbyterian, who had been for two years a missionary at Detroit, sent by the Connecticut Board of Missions, was assigned to Mackinac Island to preach and teach. He was the first Protestant clergyman sent to the island, but was recalled in August, 1804. Until 1812 matters appear to have been conducted without disturbance, the only excitement being the business of the Fur Company, and the annual arrival and departure of the brigade commanders, with their men, boats and outfits, to the various trapping and trading stations.

LIST OF UNITED STATES ARMY OFFICERS STATIONED AT FORT MACKINAC (MICHILIMACKINAC ISLAND), 1796 TO 1812.

Henry Burbeck, Major, Artillerists and Engineers, 1796.
 Ebenezer Massay, Lieutenant, Artillerists and Engineers, 1796.
 Abner Prior, Captain, 1st Infantry, 1796.
 John Michael, Lieutenant, 1st Infantry, 1796.
 John Wiley, 1st Lieutenant, Artillerists and Engineers, 1800.
 Thomas Hunt, Major, 1st Artillerists and Engineers, 1802.
 Josiah Dunham, Captain, Artillerists and Engineers, 1802.
 Francis LeBarron, Surgeon's Mate, 1802.
 Jacob Kingsbury, Lieutenant-Colonel, 1st Infantry, 1804.
 Jonathan Eastman, 1st Lieutenant, Artillerists, 1807.
 Lewis Howard, Captain, Artillerists, 1808. Died January 13, 1811.
 Porter Hanks, 1st Lieutenant, Artillerists, 1808.
 Archibald Darragh, 2d Lieutenant, Artillerists, 1808.
 Sylvester Day, Garrison Surgeon's Mate, 1810.

BRITISH OFFICERS, 1812-14-15.

1812. Charles Roberts, Captain 10th V. B. commanding July 17, 1812 to Sept. 14, 1813.
 David Mitchell, Asst. Surgeon, 8th (King's Regiment.)
 Richard Bullock, Captain 41st Regiment, commanding Sept. 14, 1813, John Scott, Captain.
1814. Robert McDonall (or McDouall) Lt. Col. Glengary, Light Infantry commanding Michilimackinac and Dependencies and Indian Department. Andrew H. Bulger, Lieutenant 81st Regiment (Royal Newfoundland). Armstrong, Lieut. Mississippi Vols. John Redenhoort, Lieut. Post Adjutant, Captain Robert Livingston, Senior Captain Indian Department of "Makina," James Keating, Sergeant, Royal Artillery, Lieutenant Edmund Woosley, Royal Navy, G. H.

- Monk, Depty. Asst. Com. Genl. Duncan Graham, Captain Indian Dept. Lieut. Jacques Portier, Michigan Fencibles, Lieut. Amable Dusang, Miss. Vols.
1814. Oct. 28, Lieut. (Andrew) H. Bulger, 31st Regiment, (Royal Newfoundland) was appointed Captain, Michigan Fencibles, to command all operations on the Mississippi Headquarters at Fort McKay. There were 6 officers and 50 men at Fort McKay. 130 Mississippi Vols. Captain Thos. G. Anderson, about 40 Canadian voyageurs and a small party of soldiers of the line, Miss. Vol. Artillery, Lieutenant James Keating with 2 3-pounder brass guns for field and boat use. Lieut. Amable Dusang, Miss. Vols., Robert Dickson, Agent and Supt. of Indian affairs, in Department.
- Andrew H. Bulger, born St. Johns, Newfoundland, Nov. 20, 1789. Commissioned Ensign 81st Regiment (Royal Newfoundland) Oct. 26, 1804, Lieutenant July 20, 1806, served with detachments of his regiment in 16 engagements, principal Fort Detroit, Fort George, Stony Creek, Battle of Michilimackinac, Aug. 4, 1814, Captain McCalaster, R. N. on Americans, Nov. 2, 1813. Capture of armed schooners, Tigress and Scorpion, Sept. 3 and 6, 1814, received silver medals and 3 clasps for those engagements.

WAR OF 1812-15.

June 19, 1812, in accordance with an Act of Congress, President Madison proclaimed war with the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

During that war the British were generally unsuccessful on the sea, and the United States on the land, until the final battle of New Orleans (fought January 8, 1815, after peace had been concluded) where the British forces were defeated. Without noting what occurred elsewhere we shall confine ourselves to the operations at Michilimackinac Island and vicinity.

In the spring of 1812 Fort Mackinac (Michilimackinac Island) was all within the inner intersecting lines of the three block-houses and the slope in front very much as it is now; there were no buildings without the lines. The only approaches were through the south and north arched sally-ports, each provided with a portecullis, that could be instantly dropped. They were, both, additionally secured by gates, double planked, that could be closed at any time during the night or day. Strong, squared, cedar palisades—pickets—were set vertically on the walls and in the ground intersecting the inner lines of the block-houses. They were about

eight feet high, pointed on the top, pierced at intervals, by two rows of loop-holes (one-half on two adjoining pickets) for musketry, angled from within outwards so that the fire could be delivered, standing or kneeling at the enemy in any direction. Near the block-houses strong, sharp-pronged, iron spikes, calthorps, were set in the apexes of the pickets and like spikes and pointed hooks wherever the ground approaches seemed to favor scaling parties. The block-houses were armed with iron carronades that protected the picket walls of the fort and iron guns were planted at convenient places so as to rake the hillsides and other approaches.

Lieutenant Hanks commanded Fort Mackinac and the people of the island generally, had reason to expect a declaration of war, and measures for safety were taken. The British commander at St. Joseph's Island, Captain Charles Roberts, 10th Royal Veteran Battalion, got the first notification. It is believed it reached Roberts through the agents of the fur companies, as the traders of the Mackinac company were mostly British, and both companies were unfriendly to the United States. He was advised in the message from General Brock, his superior, to attack the fort of Michilimackinac at once, as the best means of preserving his own position. Captain Roberts received the message July 15. The morning of the 16th he embarked for Michilimackinac, on the Northwestern Fur Company's ship, *Caledonia*, with two iron six-pounders, ten batteaux, and seventy canoes. His force consisted of forty-two regulars and four officers, two hundred and sixty Canadians, five hundred and seventy-two Chippewas and Ottawas, fifty-six Sioux, forty-eight Winnebagoes, and thirty-nine Menomonies, being three hundred and six white men and seven hundred and eighteen Indians, all told one thousand and twenty-one.

At 3 o'clock A. M., July 17, they arrived at the northwest bay, facing St. Ignace, and began to debark. The Canadians attached ropes to the guns and hauled one of them to the top of the hill commanding the fort. The other gun was brought over in the same way and planted in the rear of the fort, just before daybreak. At 11:30 A. M. an officer with a flag of truce, approached and demanded the surrender of the fort. The official report of Lieutenant Hanks will give the cause and reasons.

Copy of the official report of Lieutenant Porter Hanks, to General Hull, announcing the surrender of Fort Michilimackinac, July 17, 1812, "to his Britannic Majesty's forces:"

"Detroit, August 12th, 1812.

"Sir—I take the earliest opportunity to acquaint Your Excellency of the surrender of the garrison of Michilimackinac, under my command, to his Britannic Majesty's forces under the command of Captain Charles Roberts, on the 17th ultimo, the particulars of which are as follows: On the 16th, I was informed by the Indian interpreter that he had discovered from an Indian that the several nations of Indians then at St. Joseph (a British garrison, distant about forty miles) intended an immediate attack on Michilimackinac.

"I was inclined, from the coolness I had discovered in some of the principal chiefs of the Ottawa and Chippewa nations, who had but a few days before professed the greatest friendship for the United States, to place confidence in this report.

"I immediately called a meeting of the American gentlemen at that time on the island, in which it was thought proper to dispatch a confidential person to St. Joseph to watch the motions of the Indians.

"Captain Michael Dousman, of the militia, was thought the most suitable for this service. He embarked about sunset, and met the British forces within ten or fifteen miles of the island, by whom he was made prisoner and put on his parole of honor. He was landed on the island at daybreak, with positive directions to give me no intelligence whatever. He was also instructed to take the inhabitants of the village, indiscriminately, to place on the west side of the island where their persons and property should be protected by a British guard, but should they go to the Fort, they would be subject to a general massacre by the savages, which would be inevitable if the garrison fired a gun. This information I received from Doctor Day, who was passing through the village when every person was flying for refuge to the enemy. I immediately, on being informed of the approach of the enemy, placed ammunition, etc., in the Block-houses; ordered every gun charged, and made every preparation for action. About 9 o'clock I could discover that the enemy were in possession of the heights that commanded the Fort, and one piece of their artillery directed to the most defenseless part of the garrison. The Indians at this time were to be seen in great numbers in the edge of the woods.

"At half past 11 o'clock the enemy sent in a flag of truce, demanding a surrender of the Fort and island to his Britannic Majesty's forces. This, Sir, was the first intimation I had of the declaration of war; I, however, had anticipated it, and was as well prepared to meet such an event as I possibly could have been with the force under my command, amounting to 57 effective men, including officers. Three American gentlemen, who were prisoners, were permitted to accompany the flag; from them I ascertained the strength of the enemy to be from nine hundred

to one thousand strong, consisting of regular troops, Canadians and savages; that they had two pieces of artillery, and were provided with ladders and ropes for the purpose of scaling the works, if necessary. After I had obtained this information, I consulted my officers, and also the American gentlemen present, who were very intelligent men; the result of which was, that it was impossible for the garrison to hold out against such a superior force. In this opinion I fully concurred, from the conviction that it was the only measure that could prevent a general massacre. The Fort and garrison were accordingly surrendered.

"The enclosed papers exhibit copies of the correspondence between the officer commanding the British forces and myself, and of the articles of capitulation. This subject involved questions of a peculiar nature; and I hope, Sir, that my demands and protests will meet the approbation of my government. I can not allow this opportunity to escape without expressing my obligation to Doctor Sylvester Day, for the service he rendered me in conducting this correspondence.

"In consequence of this unfortunate affair, I beg leave, Sir, to demand that a Court of Inquiry may be ordered to investigate all the facts connected with it; and I do further request, that the court may be specially directed to express their opinion on the merits of the case.

"I have the honor, Sir,
* * * * *

"PORTER HANKS,
"Lieutenant of Artillery.

"His Excellency General Hull,

"Commanding the N. W. Army."

P. S. * * "It may be also remarked that one hundred and fifty Chippewas and Ottawas joined the British forces two days after the capitulation. P. H."

CAPITULATION.

By the terms of that instrument, agreement between Captain Charles Roberts, commanding his Britannic Majesty's forces, and Lieutenant Porter Hanks, commanding those of the United States of America, the fort and island were to be surrendered and the troops allowed to march out with the honors of war, and then deliver their arms. They were to be sent to United States stations as paroled prisoners of war, on their honor, not to fight until exchanged. All private property of individuals was to be respected and the vessels in the harbor, with their cargoes. All citizens of the United States who refused to take the oath of allegiance to the British King were allowed to leave the Island within one month from the date of the surrender.

Lieutenant Hanks had but fifty-seven effective men, five sick men and a drummer boy. Taking into consideration the odds against him and the fact that he did not know that war existed, or had been declared, also the unfriendly disposition of the fur companies, coupled with the temper of the Indians, whom the fur companies influenced and largely controlled, resistance would have been hopeless and fatal.

The other officers besides Lieutenant Hanks surrendered and paroled, were 2d Lieutenant Archibald Darrah and Doctor Sylvester Day, Garrison Surgeon's Mate. Doctor Day had quarters without the fort, in the village, in a house on Market street, at the head of (old) Church street; the lot now belongs to the Donnelly estate. Captain Michael Dousman, whom Lieutenant Hanks dispatched to watch the motions of the Indians, and was captured by Roberts, was an agent of the Southwest Fur Company, of which John Jacob Astor was president. Mr. Dousman had in the winter sent Wm. Aikins and John Drew to trade and purchase furs of the Lake Superior Indians. He heard they had returned to Sault Ste. Marie, and judged from the actions of the Michilimackinac Indians that there was cause for their nonappearance at the island. When Mr. Dousman returned to the island he called at the house of Mr. Ambrose Davenport and notified him, next on Doctor Day, and in turn, the citizens. Doctor Day went immediately to the fort. The people all gathered at the distillery, for refuge, where the British, after landing, placed a guard. The distillery was near the Indian cemetery, under the bluff to the west of the village. The three gentlemen, prisoners, referred to by Lieutenant Hanks, and who accompanied the flag of truce, were John Dousman, Samuel Abbott and Ambrose R. Davenport.

At that time the village was small and compact. The houses were mostly one-story log structures, roofed with bark, except the two-storied residence* of Surgeon David Mitchell, of the British Army, which had a mansard roof, now (1895) standing on Market street. There were in the harbor, nine small vessels, each with an average crew of

*Demolished in 1897.

five or six men. Two vessels arrived after the surrender, loaded with furs. All the building lots, gardens and government inclosure were fenced, for protection by high cedar pickets, firmly set in the ground, that gave the town a wierd and foreign aspect. Many stumps of pickets can be traced, on dividing lines, to this day, and some shortened ones are still standing.

After the surrender the citizens were assembled at the government house to have the oath of allegiance to the British Crown administered, which most of them willingly took. Messrs. Samuel Abbott, Stone, Bostwick, Davenport and Dousman brothers, refusing to subscribe to the oath, were sent away with the soldiers. Michael Dousman was allowed to remain neutral.

BRITISH OCCUPATION OF THE CAPTURED FORT MACKINAC (MICHILIMACKINAC.)

The British troops held the fort and island until the summer of 1815, after the close of the war. They constructed, armed, and equipped and strong earthworks and out-works on the "Height above Michilimackinac," which they named "Fort George," in compliment to their king. The citizens of the island were compelled to assist in building that redoubt. In the center of the oblong, within, a pit was excavated, over which was erected a square block-house and magazine made of cedar logs, hewed. There were two bomb-proof lookouts in advance, right and left of the gateway, connected with the fort by covered, underground ways. In advance of these, on the edge of the hill, each facing southward and westward, gun platforms, mounted with iron cannon, that covered the lower fort, and raked all the approaches. The face of the earthworks within the moat was set with three rows, interlaced, of sharpened, pointed cedar stakes, inclined in as many angles, so arranged as to render it about impossible for an enemy to get to the top of the parapet alive. There were iron guns mounted within the fort; the slope without the ditch was cleared of all obstructions, and the trees on the plateau below felled. The plateau in rear of the earthworks was also cleared and used as a drill and parade ground.

1814.—A FLEET SAILS TO MICHILIMACKINAC.

Although the British had captured the island key of the straits, without bloodshed, they were in constant fear of attack from the land and naval forces of the United States.

After the memorable naval battle near the head of Lake Erie between Perry and Barclay, September 10, 1813, where



BLOCK HOUSE, FORT MACKINAC, ERECTED 1780-83, SHOWING PALISADES

the entire British fleet of six vessels was captured, or destroyed, the tide had turned and the chances of invasion were imminent.

April, 1814, an expedition was proposed to capture Michilimackinac and destroy certain vessels, the enemy were said to be constructing, at Gloucester, on Matchadash Bay, south-eastern extremity of Lake Huron. In accordance with orders issued June 2, following, a fleet of vessels was fitted out consisting of United States sloops of war, *Niagara* and *Lawrence*, each having twenty guns, and the smaller schooners, *Tigress*, *Detroit*, *Caledonia*, *Scorpion*, and others, Captain Sinclair (commodore) on board, with a land force of seven hundred and fifty officers and men, Lieutenant Colonel

Croghan, commanding. Ambrose R. Davenport, of Mackinac Island, was quartermaster and guide.

They sailed July 3, and entered Lake Huron the 12th instant, and made for the entrance of Matchadash Bay. It was the largest and strongest fleet that had ever ridden the waters of the lake. Continuous fogs delayed them, and, not having a pilot, the many shoals and reefs at the inlet of the bay threatened sore destruction. It takes an expert sailor, with the best modern charts, to enter Georgian Bay in good, clear weather.

Deeming the entrance unsafe the squadron sailed for the head of the lake. Then it was decided to leave part of the fleet to cruise about the island, and with the rest of them to go to St. Joseph's, and destroy that fort before going to Michilimackinac. If they had assailed the Island first, it is thought, it might have been taken (as it occurred in 1812) without firing a shot, as the enemy had only one small company in the fort. The delay allowed the British time to fortify and secure Canadian and Indian allies, which led to the subsequent defeat of the United States invading forces. Colonel Croghan arrived, with the detached expedition, at St. Joseph's Island, July 20, and burned the fort but left the town and Northwest Fur Company's warehouses intact. Whilst here, wind-bound, he captured that company's schooner, *Mink*, bound up from Mackinac Island to Sault Ste. Marie loaded with flour. From parties on the *Mink* he learned that the flour was to be transported to Fort Williams, by the schooner *Perseverance*, then waiting above the falls.

Lieutenant Turner, with a naval party, was dispatched to capture the schooner, and, if possible, to get her below the falls. Major Holmes, with regulars, was in command, intending to get possession of the fort of Sault Ste. Marie and destroy it.

Lieutenant Turner's report to Commodore Sinclair relates what was accomplished:

"U. S. Schooner Scorpion, off Michilimackinac,
July 28th, 1814.

"Sir: I have the honor to inform you, that agreeable to your orders of the 22nd instant, I proceeded on the expedition to Lake Superior with the launches. I rowed night and day; but having a distance of sixty miles, against a strong current, in-

formation had reached the enemy at St. Mary's of our approach about two hours before I arrived at that place, carried by Indians in their light canoes; several of whom I chased and by firing on them, killed some and prevented their purposes; some I captured and kept prisoners until my arrival, others escaped. The force under Major Holmes prevented anything like resistance at the fort, the enemy with their Indians, carrying with them all the light valuable articles, pelfry, clothes, etc. I proceeded across the strait of Lake Superior without a moment's delay; and on my appearance, the enemy, finding they could not get off with the vessel I was in quest of, set fire to her in several places, scuttled, and left her. I succeeded in boarding her, and by considerable exertions extinguished the flames, and secured her from sinking. I then stripped her and prepared for getting her down the falls. Adverse winds prevented my attempting the falls until the 26th, when every possible effort was used, but I am sorry to say without success, to get her over in safety. The fall in three quarters of a mile is forty-five feet, and the channel very rocky; the current runs from twenty to thirty knots, and in one place there is a perpendicular leap of ten feet between three rocks; here she bilged, but was brought down so rapidly that we succeeded in running her on shore below the rapids before she filled, and burned her. She was a fine new schooner, upwards of one hundred tons, called the *Perseverance*, and will be a severe loss to the North-west Company. Had I succeeded in getting her safe, I could have loaded her to advantage from the enemy's storehouses. I have, however, brought down four captured boats loaded with Indian goods to a considerable amount; the balance, contained in four large and two small storehouses, were destroyed, amount in value from fifty to one hundred thousand dollars. All private property was, according to your orders, respected. The officers and men under my command behaved with great activity and zeal, particularly Midshipman Swartout.

"I have the honor to be, sir, with great respect, your obedient servant,
Daniel Turner."

After Holmes and Turner returned from St. Mary's Falls, with the launches, to St. Joseph's Island, the squadron sailed for Michilimackinac, arriving July 26. Since their first appearance off Bois Blanc Island, Lieutenant-Colonel Robert McDouall (Glengarry Light Infantry. Fencibles), commanding, had time to plant cannon at assailable points, muster Canadian and Indian allies, and prepare for defense. Guns were planted to command all water approaches, the heights, the elevation above the distillery, on the hill west of the Fort and convenient places east to Robertson's Folly.

The fleet came to anchor at the foot of Round Island. They were at once obliged to move towards Bois Blanc

Island to avoid the range of the enemy's guns, that opened fire, and rendered their position untenable. Then Colonel Croghan sent a force in launches to Round Island (Mr. Ambrose Davenport as guide), to reconnoiter, with the view of establishing a battery on the water front opposite the fort. A site above the limekiln was selected, facing the village, and the party leisurely returned through the woods and clearings, picking raspberries by the way. The British, on the alert, discovered them and sent a large party of savages over in two or three hundred canoes and several batteaux, who soon reached the island. They pursued the stragglers to their boats and captured one Frenchman. One of the launches struck a rock, just below the water level, and swung around as if on a pivot within reach of the enemy's guns. The savages opened fire and the boat returned the compliment, but no damage was done. The officer in charge ordered the men to cease firing and push off the boat, which was soon done, and they returned to the fleet. Sinclair directed a small, one-gun vessel to sail up through the Round Island channel to head off the Indians and retake the prisoner if possible. Whenever the boat in tacking, neared the shore she was fired on by the savages, who swarmed on the beach. The fire was returned from the boat with gun and small arms. No one was injured but nothing was accomplished, as the wind was against them.

As the Indians were returning by the Mackinac channel, the *Lawrence*, anchored west of the island, fired a shot at them without effect. They plied their paddles, chanting the death-dirge, intending to roast their victim and feast on him. When they landed, Colonel McDouall sent a strong guard, who took the prisoner and conveyed him to the fort.

When the *Lawrence* was cruising, the day after, a dense fog came on. As it lifted, later that day, the vessel had drifted near the southwest end of the island, with little wind, and in range of the enemy's guns; she was fired on **from** the west-end battery without effect. One shot was returned by the *Lawrence*, but her guns could not be elevated enough to strike the fort. After this, unfavorable weather prevented operations for several days.

Finding that the place could not be carried by assault from the front, or east sides of the island, Colonel Groghan

and Sinclair determined to effect a landing in the northwest bay, where Roberts debarked two years before and make a lodgment from which they could annoy and finally starve out the enemy. That plan they attempted to execute August 4 and the result is shown in the following reports:

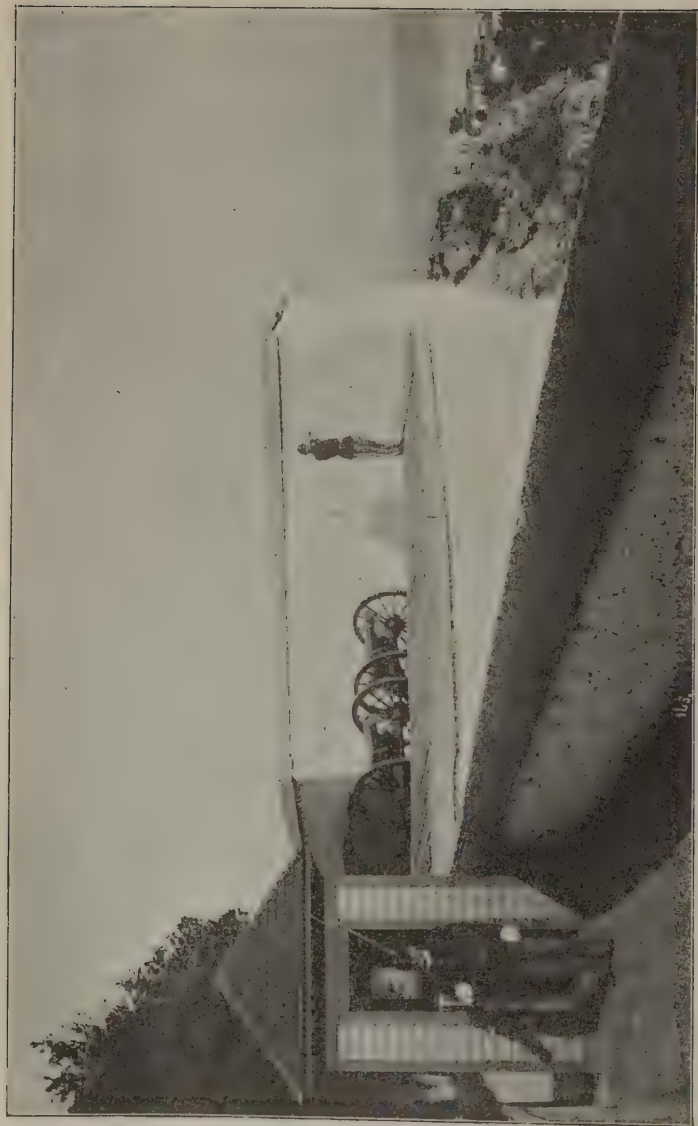
“Official report of Lieut. Col. George Croghan of the Battle of Michilimackinac Island.

“U. S. S. War, Niagara, Off Thunder Bay,
August 9th, 1814.

“Sir—We left Fort Gratiot (head of the Straits St. Clair) on the 12th ult., and imagined that we should arrive in a few days at Matchadash Bay. At the end of the week, however, the Commodore, from the want of pilots acquainted with that unfrequented part of the lake, despaired of being able to find a passage through the island into the bay, and made for St. Josephs, where we anchored on the 20th day of July. After setting fire to the Fort of St. Josephs, which seemed not to have been recently occupied, a detachment of infantry and artillery, under Major Holmes, was ordered to Sault St. Marys for the purpose of breaking up the enemy's establishment at that place.

“For particulars relative to the execution of this order, I beg leave to refer you to Major Holmes' report, herewith enclosed. Finding on my arrival at Michilimackinac, on the 26th ult., that the enemy had strongly fortified the height overlooking the old Fort of Mackinac, I at once despaired of being able with my small force, to carry the place by storm, and determined (as the only course remaining) on landing and establishing myself on some favorable position, whence I could be enabled to annoy the enemy by gradual and slow approaches, under cover of my artillery, in which I should have the superiority in point of metal. I was urged to this step by another reason, not a little cogent; could a position be taken and fortified on the island, I was well aware that it would either induce the enemy to attack me in my strongholds, or force his Indians and Canadians, (the most efficient and only disposable force) off the island, as they would be very unwilling to remain in my neighborhood after a permanent footing had been taken.

“On inquiry, I learned from individuals who had lived many years on the Island, that a position desirable as I might wish could be found on the west end, and therefore made arrangements for disembarking. A landing was effected on the 4th inst., under cover of the guns of the shipping, and the line being quickly formed, had advanced to the edge of the field, spoken of for a camp, when the intelligence was conveyed to me that the enemy was ahead, and a few seconds more brought us a fire from his battery of four pieces firing shot and shells. After reconnoitering his position, which was well selected, his line reached along the edge of the woods, at the further extremity of the field and covered



SENTRY-BOX AND PARAPET AT FORT MACKINAC

by a temporary breastwork; I determined on changing my position (which was now two lines, the militia forming the front), by advancing Major Holmes' battalion of regulars on the right of the militia, thus to outflank him, and by a vigorous effort to gain his rear. The movement was immediately ordered, but before it could be executed, a fire was opened by some Indians posted in a thick wood near our right, which proved fatal to Major Holmes and severely wounded Captain Desha (the next officer in rank.) This unlucky fire, by depriving us of the services of our most valuable officers, threw that part of the line into confusion from which the best exertions of the officers were not able to recover it. Finding it impossible to gain the enemy's left, owing* to the impenetrable thickness of the woods, a charge was ordered to be made by the regulars immediately against the front. This charge although made in some confusion, served to drive the enemy back into the woods, from whence an annoying fire was kept up by the Indians.

"Lieut. Morgan was ordered up with a light piece to assist the left, now particularly galled; the excellent practice of this brought the enemy to fire at a longer distance. Discovering that this position from whence the enemy had just been driven (and which had been represented to me as so high and commanding), was by no means tenable, from being interspersed with thickets, and intersected in every way by ravines, I determined no longer to expose my force to the fire of an enemy deriving every advantage which could not be obtained from numbers and knowledge of the position, and therefore ordered an immediate retreat towards the shipping. This affair, which cost us many valuable lives, leaves us to lament the fall of that gallant officer, Major Holmes, whose character is so well known to the war department. Captain Van Horne, of the 19th Infantry and Lieut. Jackson of the 24th Infantry, both brave intrepid young men fell mortally wounded at the head of their respective commands.

"The conduct of all my officers on this occasion merits my approbation. Captain Desha, of the 24th Infantry, although wounded, continued with his command until forced to retire from faintness through loss of blood. Captain Saunders, Hawkins and Sturges, with every subaltern of the battalion, acted in the most exemplary manner. Ensign Bryan, 2nd Rifle Regiment, acting Adjutant to the battalion, actively forwarded the wishes of the commanding officer. Lieuts. Hickman, 28th Infantry, and Hyde of the U. S. Marines, who commanded the reserve, claim my particular thanks for their activity in keeping that command in readiness to meet any exigency. I have before mentioned Lieut. Morgan's activity; his two assistants, Lieut. Pickett and Mr. Peters, conductor of artillery, also merit the name of good officers.

"The militia were wanting in no part of their duty. Col. Colgreave, his officers and soldiers, deserve the warmest approbation. My acting assistant Adjutant General Captain N. H. Moore, 28th Infantry, with volunteer Adjutant McComb, were prompt in delivering my orders.

"Captain Gratiot of the engineers, who volunteered his services on this occasion, gave me valuable assistance. On the morning of the 5th, I sent a flag to the enemy, to enquire into the state of the wounded (two in number), who were left on the field, and to request permission to bring away the body of Major Holmes, which was also left, owing to the unpardonable neglect of the soldiers in whose hands it was placed. I am happy in assuring you that the body of Major Holmes is secured, and will be buried at Detroit with becoming honors. I shall discharge the militia to-morrow, and will send them down, together with two regular companies to Detroit.

"With the remaining three companies I shall attempt to destroy the enemy's establishment in the head of Naw-taw-wa-sa-ga River, and if it be thought proper, erect a post at the mouth of that river.

"Very respectfully, I have the honor to remain, sir, your obedient servant,

G. CROGHAN ,
Lieut.-Col. 2nd. Riflemen.

"To Hon. J. Armstrong,
Secretary of War."

Naval Report, Battle of Michilimackinac Island, by Captain Sinclair:

"United States Sloop of War, Niagara,
Off Thunder Bay, August 9th, 1814.

"Sir—I arrived off Michilimackinac on the 26th of July; but owing to a tedious spell of bad weather, which prevented our reconnoitering, or being able to procure a prisoner who could give us information of the enemy's Indian force, which, from several little skirmishes we had won an adjacent island, appeared to be very great, we did not attempt a landing until the 4th inst., and it was then made more with a view to ascertain positively the enemy's strength than with any possible hope of success; knowing, at the same time, that I could effectually cover their landing and retreat to the ships, from the position I had taken within 300 yards of the beach. Col. Groghan would never have landed, even with his protection, being positive, as he was that the Indian force alone on the island with the advantages they had, were superior to him, could he have justified himself to his government, without having stronger proof than appearances, that he could not effect the object in view. Mackinac is, by nature, a perfect Gibraltar, being a high inaccessible rock on every side, except the west, from which to the heights, you have near two miles to pass through a wood, so thick that our men were shot in every direction, and within a few yards of them, without being able to see the Indians who did it; and a height was scarcely gained before there was another within 50 or 100 yards commanding it, where breastworks were erected and cannon opened on them. Several of those were charged and

the enemy driven from them; but it was soon found the further our troops advanced the stronger the enemy became, and the weaker and more bewildered our forces were; several of the commanding officers were picked out and killed or wounded by the savages, without seeing any of them. The men were getting lost and falling into confusion, natural under such circumstances, which demanded an immediate retreat, or a total defeat and general massacre must have ensued. This was conducted in a masterly manner by Col. Croghan, who had lost the aid of that valuable and ever to be lamented officer, Major Holmes, who, with Captain Van Horn, was killed by the Indians.

"The enemy were driven from many of their strongholds; but such was the impenetrable thickness of the woods, that no advantage gained could be profited by. Our attack would have been made immediately under the lower fort, that the enemy might not have been able to use his Indian force to such advantage as in the woods, having discovered by drawing a fire from him in several instances, that I had greatly the superiority of metal of him; but its site being about 120 feet above the water, I could not when near enough to do him an injury, elevate sufficiently to batter it. Above this, nearly as high again, he has another strong fort, commanding every point on the island, and almost perpendicular on all sides. Col. Croghan not deeming it prudent to make a second attempt upon this place, and having ascertained to a certainty that the only naval force the enemy have upon the lakes consists of one schooner and four guns, I have determined to dispatch the *Lawrence* and *Caledonia* to Lake Erie immediately, believing their services in transporting our armies there will be wanting; and it being important that the sick and wounded, amounting to about 100, and that part of the detachment not necessary to further our future operations here, should reach Detroit without delay. By an intelligent prisoner, captured in the *Mink*, I ascertain this, and that the mechanics and others sent across from New York during the winter were for the purpose of building a flotilla to transport reinforcements and supplies to Mackinac. An attempt was made to transport them by way of Matchadash, but it was found impracticable, from all the portages being a morass; that they then resorted to a small river called Nautawasaga, situated to the south of Matchadash, from which there is a portage of three leagues over a good road to Lake Simcoe. This place was never known until pointed out to them last summer by an Indian. This river is very narrow, and has six or eight feet water in it about three miles up, and is then a muddy rapid, shallow for 45 miles up to the portage, where their armada was built, and their store-houses are now situated. The navigation is dangerous and difficult, and so obscured by rocks and bushes that no stranger could ever find it. I have, however, availed myself of the means of discovering it; I shall also blockade the mouth of French River until the fall; and those being the only channels of communication by which Mackinac can possibly be supplied, and their provisions at this time being extremely short, I think they will be starved into a

surrender. This will also cut off all supplies to the Northwest Company, who are now nearly starving, and their furs on hand can only find transportation by the way of Hudson Bay. At this place I calculate on falling in with their schooner, which it is said, has gone there for a load of provisions, and a message sent to her not to venture up while we are on the lake.

Very respectfully I have the honor to remain, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

Arthur Sinclair.

"To Hon. Wm. Jones,

Secretary of the Navy"

Report of Captain N. H. Moore, 28th Infantry; Acting Assistant Adjutant General, of the killed, wounded and missing, affair of August 4, 1814:

On Board the U. S. Sloop of War Niagara,
11th August, 1814.

"Artillery—wounded, three privates.

Infantry—17th Regiment; killed, five privates; wounded, two sergeants, two corporals, fifteen privates. Two privates since dead. Two privates missing.

"19th Regiment—wounded, one captain, nineteen privates. Captain Isaac Van Horn, Jr., since dead; one private since dead.

"24th Regiment—killed, five privates; wounded, one captain, one lieutenant, three sergeants, one musician, five privates. Captain Roberts Desha severely; Lieut. Hezekiah Jackson since dead; one sergeant since dead.

"32nd Regiment—killed, one major. Major Andrew Hunter Holmes (L'Ecspegnol, the Spanaird, a Winnebago chief and Yellow Dog both claim they killed Major Holmes.) B.

"United States Marines—wounded, one sergeant.

"Ohio Militia—killed, two privates. Wounded, six privates—one private since dead.

"Grand total—One major and twelve privates killed; two captains, one lieutenant, six sergeants, three corporals, one musician and thirty-eight privates wounded. Two privates missing.*

"The above return exhibits a true statement of the killed, wounded and missing in the affair of the 4th instant.

"N. H. Moore, Captain 28th Infantry.

"Acting Assistant Adjutant General."

The battle was fought on Michael Dousman's farm (now Earley's estate), in a field, westward of the road leading from the Fort to the British Landing. The enemy's battery (four guns) was masked behind a ridge, seven hundred and fifty feet from the road, in the old orchard, in front of the

*Inside Indians. B.

woods, to the left, after entering from the harbor and village, through the red gate. The positions are delineated on the outline map. When the defeated troops regained their shipping the fleet moved near their former position off Bois Blanc island.

Failing to capture Michilimackinac, measures were devised to prevent the arrival of supplies and starve the enemy into submission. All the troops but three companions were sent to General Brown at Niagara, in the *Lawrence*, and *Caledonia*. A pilot was secured and the remaining squadron sailed for the French and Nautauwasaga rivers in Georgian Bay. French river was decided useless as a winter route (the one from Montreal by way of the Ottawa portage and Lake Nippissing) and was avoided, and the course laid to the Nawtawasaga, the outlet of Lake Simcoe. Here supplies were conveyed across the peninsula from York (Toronto) and reshipped to Michilimackinac and Saulte Ste. Marie. The enemy's schooner *Nancy* was discovered a few hundred yards up the river, protected by a block-house on the opposite shore. The following morning two howitzers were landed and planted within range of the block-house at which shells were thrown. One of the shells burst and blew up the magazine, allowing the enemy scarcely time to escape. That lighted a train laid to the vessel, that set fire to her and her valuable cargo, and six months' supplies for Fort Michilimackinac were entirely consumed. It was not considered necessary to fortify and garrison the position, so Colonel Croghan and Sinclair left the *Tigress* and *Scorpion* to blockade the river until the ice began to form, which would prevent the forwarding of provisions. After that the rest of the squadron sailed for Detroit.

The captain and several of the crew of the *Nancy* escaped in a boat and sailed for Michilimackinac and informed Colonel McDouall of the disaster. That intrepid officer saw that something must be done to prevent starvation, as provisions were scarce. The command, already on half rations, had a long winter before them. An expedition was sent in open boats to break the blockade. It consisted of one hundred and fifty sailors and soldiers with two hundred and fifty Indians. When the force arrived at the head of the bay, they discovered the *Tigress* alone; she had been separated several

days from the *Scorpion*. During the night of September 3, it being very dark, she was boarded and captured after a desperate encounter, in which several men were killed and others wounded. The signal book fell into the hands of the enemy. British officers now, having the vessel and knowing her signals, captured the *Scorpion* at dawn, on the 6th instant. That was the final stroke to the ill-fated expedition and Michilimackinac was secure for another winter.

Mackinac Island was then, as it is now, the key of the Upper Lakes. When held by land and naval forces combined, the power in possession was master of the situation. Considering the remoteness of the place from other settlements and the slow and limited means of communication, the affair of August 4, 1814, and the subsequent connected events, was a serious and disastrous defeat to the United States. Had it not been for the terms of the treaty of peace, ratified the following year, the continued occupation of the fort and straits, by the British, would have been of far-reaching effect on the commercial and industrial interests of this nation.

Peace was concluded between the two contending nations during the winter of 1814-15, as the result of the Treaty of Ghent, December 24, 1814, and proclaimed February 18, 1815.

The United States sloop of war, *Niagara*, United States schooner, *Porcupine*, and two chartered vessels sailed from Detroit with six months' supplies for Michilimackinac, in command of Samuel Woodhouse, Lieutenant, United States Navy, July 3, 1815, and arrived the 18th instant. There was on board a land force of one company of artillery and two companies of rifles, all under Colonel Anthony Butler, 2d Rifles, United States Army. William Gamble, collector of customs, was also with the expedition to establish the post.

After due exchange of courtesies between the retiring and in-coming commanders and their troops, Colonel Butler took formal possession, 12 m., July 18, 1815, of the fort and dependencies. Colonel McDonnell, with the British force, then retired to Drummond's Island, at the mouth of St. Mary's river, where a large post was laid out. Colonel Butler left Captain Willoughby Morgan, United States Army, in com-



FORT MACKINAC, MICHIGAN, A. D. 1877

mand of Fort Mackinac and returned to Detroit with the fleet.

Fort George was renamed Fort Holmes (in honor of Major Holmes) and was occupied a few days by a detachment and Michael Dousman was appointed military agent of Michilimackinac.

1895. Soon after the detachment was withdrawn from Fort Holmes the block-house was taken down and rebuilt for the stable, now at the foot of the hill, in front of Fort Mackinac. It is not, and never was, ornamental; and it would be a great improvement to the landscape to remove all the stables and storehouses from the lake front.

1904. All the buildings have lately been removed and the block-house that was used for a stable is to be re-erected in Fort George, which is now known as Fort Holmes.

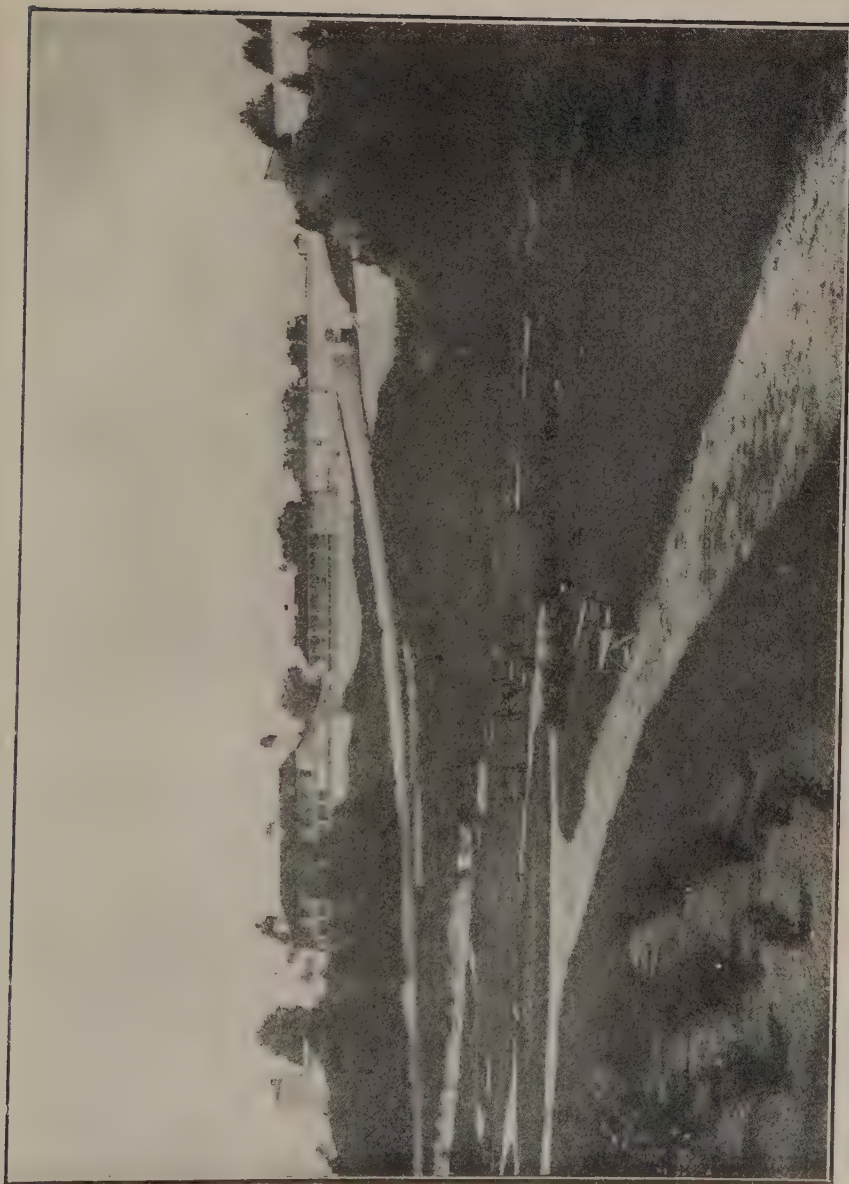
August 31, 1815, Major Talbot Chambers arrived and took command of Fort Mackinac, and Captain Morgan was ordered to Detroit.

In 1816 Colonel John Miller, with part of the 3d Infantry, arrived and soon thereafter left with the two companies of rifles, to establish Fort Howard at Green Bay.

MARQUETTE PLACE

1909. The old Post Garden, in front of Fort Mackinac, has been set apart and dedicated by the Park Commission, as a monument park, and named *Marquette Place*. It has been platted and ornamented with walks, trees and shrubbery, under the direction of the Park Commissioners, and has a fountain, statue of Marquette, seats and other conveniences for tourists.

March 1, 1909. "Marquette Place of which all good citizens of Mackinac are proud, owes its origin to one of our distinguished citizens, who has always worked to benefit the Island in some manner. Since the fort was occupied by the American troops at the close of the war of 1812 and up to the year 1900, a post garden was maintained in front of the fort, but covetous eyes had longed to secure this plot for a hotel site. This fact becoming known a meeting of the cottagers was called to protest against leasing the gar-



den for that purpose. Dr. John R. Bailey was delegated to appear before the Board of Commissioners at a meeting to be held on the fourth of September and make suggestion for its improvement. As a preface to his remarks he submitted the following letter:”

“Gentlemen—I am instructed by the Marquette Monument association to ask if you will set off the plat in front of Fort Mackinac known as the fort garden for a public park to be called the Marquette Monument park and permit our association to erect a suitable monument thereon commemorative of James Marquette, priest and explorer.

John R. Bailey.’

“How forcible his arguments were the results to-day show; in fact, the only change made from the suggestions was in calling it Marquette Place.”

1909. A bronze statue of Pere Jacques Marquette, 10 feet high surmounted on a granite pedestal with a concrete base, the pose 19 feet clear of ground, will be dedicated August 4th, 1909. The cost will be over \$7,000.00, of which \$2,600.00 is from Marquette Monument funds, and the balance contributed by the late Peter White and his heirs. Mr. White was treasurer of the Marquette Monument Association.

THE AMERICAN FUR COMPANY

The American Fur Company was organized by John Jacob Astor, who was born in Germany, and migrated to this country in 1784, settling in New York. He first worked in a bakery, afterward assisted in a toy shop and then began, in a limited way, selling furs in country towns about the city. From the beginning he was industrious, careful, prudent, saving (of course successful), and by strict attention to business soon accumulated considerable means. In 1809 the American Fur Company was chartered under act, by the state of New York, with a capital of one million dollars, Astor president and principal share holder. In 1811 Mr. Astor, and others, associates of the Northwest Fur Company (organized 1783) bought out the Mackinac Company and founded, with his company, the Southwest Fur Company.

The war of 1812-15 was a damper to the fur trade. After peace was concluded in 1815, Mr. Astor bought out the Southwest Fur Company and re-established the American Fur Company. Up to that time most of the merchants and employees of those companies were British and not favorable to the United States. During the winter of 1815-16, through the influence of Mr. Astor and his company, Congress passed an act prohibiting foreigners trading with the Indians in the United States.

In the winter of 1817-18 more active operations in the fur trade began. A number of clerks and voyageurs were engaged at Montreal, by Mr. Matthews, agent of the American Fur Company, of Mackinac Island. Hon. Gurdon S. Hubbard, of Mackinac Island and Chicago, was one of the clerks enrolled for five years, at one hundred and twenty dollars a year and board.

Matthews' force left Lachine, on the St. Lawrence, May 13, 1818, in open batteaux (loaded with supplies), propelled by oars. The average distance made was fifteen miles a day; and, at the end of a month, they reached Little York (Toronto). From York they journeyed overland, with ox teams to (Youngs Street) Lake Simcoe. They crossed the lake and hauled their batteaux, with the help of a yoke of oxen (they had brought in one of the boats) over the Naw-ta-wa-sa-ga portage—six miles—into the river of the same name. From thence, in re-loaded batteaux, down the river, through Georgian Bay, and over Lake Huron, to Mackinac Island, where they landed—"at the foot of Robertson's Folly, July 4th." Here they were met by Ramsey Crooks and Robert Stewart, the resident managers of the headquarters of the American Fur Company, and a host of clerks and voyageurs, who gave them a royal welcome, with a 4th of July celebration.

1818. "Here was located Fort Mackinac, at that time garrisoned by three or four companies of United States troops. The village had a population of about five hundred, mostly Canadian French and mixed Indian blood, whose chief occupation was fishing in summer and hunting in winter. There were not more than twelve white women on the island, the residue of the female population being either all or part Indian. Here, during the summer months congre-

gated the traders employed by the Fur Company, bringing their collections from their several trading posts, which extended from the British dominions on the north and the Missouri river in the west, south and east to the white settlements; in fact, to all the Indian hunting grounds, so that when all were collected they added three thousand or more to the population.



AMERICAN FUR COMPANY'S STORE, WAREHOUSE AND DORMITORY, RE-MODELED FOR A HOTEL, FROM PHOTOGRAPH, 1879

"The Indians from the shores of the upper lakes, who made this island a place of resort, numbered from two to three thousand more. Their wigwams lined the entire beach two or three rows deep, and with the tents of the traders made the island a scene of life and animation. The voyageurs were fond of fun and frolic, and the Indians indulged in their love of liquor, and, by the exhibition of their war, medicine and other dances and sports, often made both night and day hideous with their yells. These *voyageurs* were all Canadian-French, and were the only people fitted for the life they were compelled to endure; their cheerful temperament

and happy disposition made them contented under the privations and hardships incident to their calling."

Yearly, in July, when the outfits of the various outposts had returned, the furs were unpacked, counted, assorted, appraised, the profit and loss of each ascertained, repacked, pressed and stored in the company's large warehouse ready for shipment to Mr. Astor in New York. The furs or pelts taken, were marten (sable), mink, otter, beaver, black, silver, grey and common fox, deer, moose, elk, bear, buffalo, wolverine, badger, lynx, raccoon, wild-cat, muskrat, and all small fur bearing animals.

"The force of the company when all were assembled on the island comprised about four hundred clerks and traders, together with some two thousand voyageurs. About five hundred of these were quartered in barracks, one hundred lived in the agency house." now the John Jacob Astor, "and the others were camped in tents and accommodated in rooms of the islanders.

"Dances and parties were given every night by the residents of the island in honor of the traders, and they, in their turn, reciprocated with balls and jollifications, which, though not as elegant and costly as those of the present day, were sufficiently so to drain from the participants all the hard earning of the winter previous."

Each brigade had a stout fellow, the "bully" of that crew of voyageurs, who "wore a black feather in his cap," and, if he got cleaned out, good naturedly gave the feather to the conquerer.

Batteaux used by the brigades (in addition to canoes) resembled the Mackinac fishing boats of the present day, but were larger, with a capacity for about three tons of merchandise, and the clothing and rations of the men. Each batteau had a crew of a clerk and five men. One man steered and four propelled the craft with oars. The daily ration of a mess of from six to ten men, was, to each man, one pint of hulled or lyed corn and from two to four ounces of tallow. It was more than they could eat, better than bread and meat, and was generally liked. On Saturday flour was issued for Sunday pancakes. The voyageurs were not provided with shelter and their luggage was restricted to twenty pounds, carried in a bag. The commander of the brigade

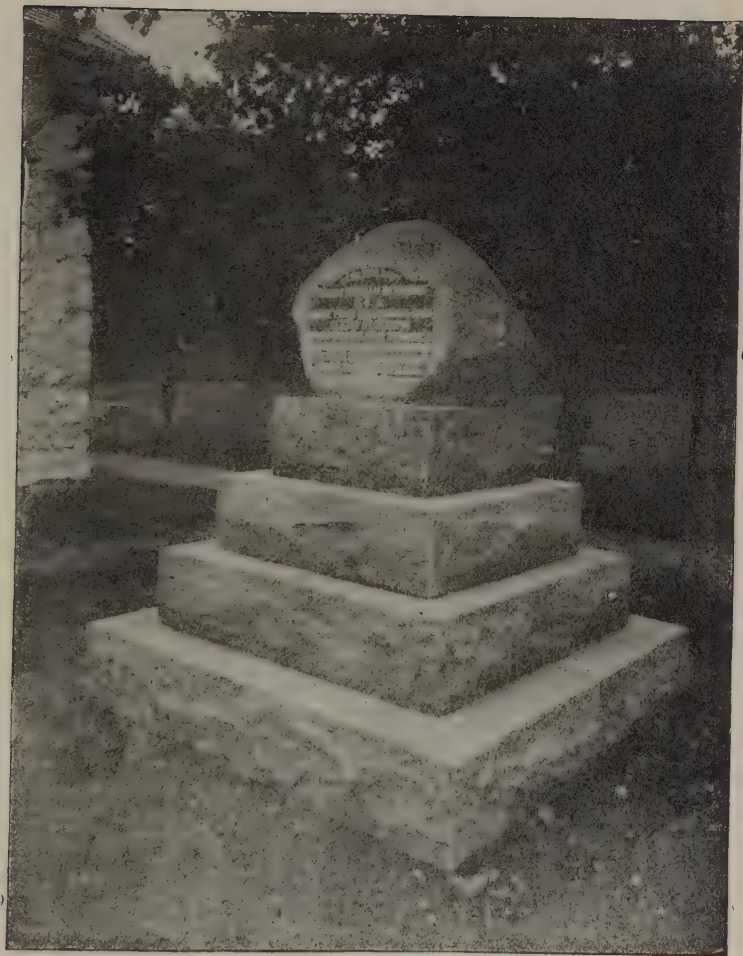
selected the best boat and an extra man for orderly, "and the will of the commander was the only law known." The clerks messed with the commander and orderly. They had salt pork, tea and coffee, and a tent for shelter.

The company had mechanics, who made and repaired boats, and manufactured traps, tomahawks, nails, and other articles from iron. The capital of the Fur Company was immense, and their policy was to monopolize; fully nineteen-twentieths of traders of the northwest were engaged by them.

The few traders on the island were Michael Dousman, Edward Biddle and John Drew, also Mrs. Mitchell, wife of Doctor David Mitchell, surgeon in the British army. All were under the influence of the Fur Company, bought most of their goods of the corporation, and sold their furs to the company.

Some of the Indian women, the mixed bloods in particular, were intelligent and accomplished, and married prominent men. Mrs. Doctor Mitchell was a mixed blood, and the widow Lafromboise, whose daughter married the United States Commander of Fort Mackinac; also a Miss Chandler, who married a prominent lawyer of Green Bay. Mrs. Edward Bibble was an Indian of queenly appearance; she dressed in Indian costume, the finest black or blue broadcloth, beautifully ornamented with silk and moose-hair work.

The late Major John H. Kinzie conducted the Fur Company's retail store in the basement of a building on the corner of Fort and Market streets. Here Alexis St. Martin, a French Canadian youth, eighteen years old, was accidentally shot, June 6, 1822, by one of his companions whilst they were carelessly examining a loaded shotgun. Doctor William Beaumont, United States Army, Post Surgeon, Fort Mackinac, was called and saw St. Martin about twenty-five minutes after the accident. He wrote—"The charge, consisting of powder and duck shot, was received in the left side of the youth, he being at a distance of not more than one yard from the muzzle of the gun. The contents entered posteriorly, in an oblique condition, forward and inward, literally blowing off integuments and muscles of the size of a man's hand, fracturing and carrying away the anterior half of the sixth rib, fracturing the fifth, lacerating the lower portion of the left lobe of the lungs, the diaphragm, and perforating the stom-



BEAUMONT MONUMENT

"Near this spot Dr. Wm. Beaumont, U. S. A., made those experiments upon Alexis St. Martin which brought fame to himself and honor to American medicine. Erected by the U. P. and Michigan State Medical Societies, July 10, 1900,"

ach." The wound healed and left a valvular orifice that could be depressed at pleasure and the contents of the stomach and action of the gastric fluids on them watched. This case led to a series of experiments and observations that are world renowned. (See "Experiments and Observations on the Gastric Juice and the Physiology of Digestion. By



William Beaumont, M. D., Surgeon in the United States Army, 1833.")

Alexis St. Martin died at St. Thomas de Joliet, June 24, 1880, aged eighty-three years. He was buried in the cemetery of the parish four days later. His family were determined that the medical profession should not secure his

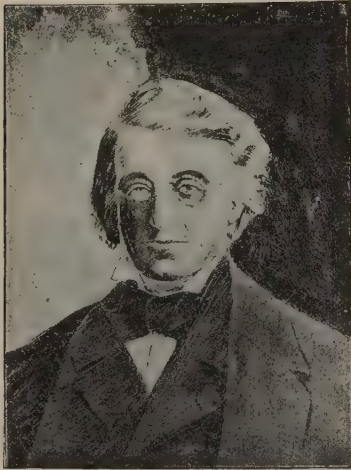
stomach. They kept the body exposed for four days in hot weather. It reached a stage of decomposition which would not admit of its being taken into the church during the funeral ceremonies. They also had the grave dug eight feet below the surface of the ground in order to prevent an expected attempt at resurrection. Mrs. St. Martin, whose maiden name was Marie Joly, died April 20, 1887, at the age of ninety years.



APPEARANCE OF THE APERTURE WITH THE VALVE DEPRESSED

Dr. William Beaumont was born in Lebanon, Conn., November 21, 1785. When twenty-two years of age he became a school teacher at Champlain, N. Y., on the Canadian frontier. He next studied medicine with Dr. Benjamin Chandler, at St. Albans, Vt., and graduated at the University

of Pennsylvania. In 1812, he was appointed assistant surgeon in the army. In 1834, he was ordered to St. Louis.



WILLIAM BEAUMONT—SURGEON
UNITED STATES ARMY, 1822

In 1839, he resigned from the army and became a citizen of St. Louis, where he continued in practice until the time of his death, which occurred April 25, 1853:

BEAUMONT MONUMENT.

1904. At a meeting of the Upper Peninsula Medical Society, held at Mackinac Island, July 10, 1900, the Park Superintendent, Mr. Poole requested the author to present, on the part of the Mackinac Island State Park Commission, to said society, the plat of

ground east of the old stone quarters in the Fort, or any place that may now, or hereafter, be selected in the Monument Park grounds, in front of Fort Mackinac, as a site for a memorial to William Beaumont.

The Michigan State Medical Society, then holding its 35th annual meeting at the same place, subscribed half the cost of the monument. The memorial was erected the following year east of the stone quarters. It may yet be moved to the Monument grounds below the Fort. See *The Physician and Surgeon*, Volume XXII, December, 1900, pages 571-591, "Beaumont Memorial Number" (a copy of which is deposited in the corner-stone of the monument); *ibid.*, December, 1902, pages 529-574, Part II, "Beaumont Memorial Number."

In 1823 the United Foreign Missionary Society sent Reverend William Montague Ferry to establish a mission school for Indians at Michilimackinac Island. He arrived October

19, and opened the school in the court house with twelve Indian children on the 3d of November. The school increased in numbers and usefulness, and in 1825 the Mission House was built and the Mission Church in 1830. Many children from the neighboring shores attended, and at one time there were nearly two hundred in training, with an ample corps of teachers. The results of the usefulness and sound principles taught in that institution can be noticed to this day, in some of the inhabitants of this island and vicinity. Senator Thomas W. Ferry, who did much for Mackinac Island and the state at large, was born in the Mission House, now a hotel, in 1827, on the 1st day of June. Reverend Mr. Ferry went to Grand Haven in 1834, and the mission was abandoned in 1837.

Fort Mackinac was temporarily evacuated, October 14, 1839, by Captain Samuel McKenzie's company, 2d United States Artillery, and reoccupied May 18, 1840, by Captain Harvey Brown's Company H, 4th Artillery.

The Fur Company continued operations from 1815 until 1834, when Mr. Astor transferred his stock and charter to Ramsey Crooks and associates. Mr. Crooks became the president, and business continued as usual until 1842, when, on account of competition with the old Northwest Fur Company (British), and other causes, it was obliged to assign, and the American Company's career ended. During all that period, the company for life and trade was Mackinac, and to all intents and purposes Mackinac was the American Fur Company.

The erection of the Fur Company's buildings cost fifty thousand dollars, and three million dollars' worth of merchandise were annually exchanged in the Indian country for furs. The amounts disbursed by the government for Indian annuities and the support and payment of the troops each year were often over one million dollars more.

Henry R. Schoolcraft, Indian Agent from 1833 to 1841, author of "Algie Researches," and other works, resided in the Old Agency building that stood in what is now (1895)

the East fort garden,* and afterward in the Indian Dormitory,† west, adjoining.

With the winding up of affairs of the American Fur Company, in 1842, the sail vessels, batteaux, small boats, buildings and other property on Mackinac Island passed into the hands of private individuals and firms, who embarked in the fur, fish and other branches of trade, on their own account, with more or less success. The vast fur business at once diminished to less than half the original volume, and finally was transferred to other places until it entirely disappeared from the island.

THE FISHERIES.

1895. With the decline of the fur trade the fishing business became prominent, and the voyageurs, Indians, and their boats and outfits, that had been so successfully used, were utilized for that purpose. The Indians resorted to Michilimackinac and vicinity, to obtain fish for subsistence long before the palefaces visited this country.

As early as 1824 whitefish and trout, in small quantities, salted and packed in barrels, were caught and sent to the Buffalo market. All the fishing grounds for one hundred and fifty miles, or more, around sent their catch to Mackinac Island, where the fish were assorted, resalted and repacked in barrels ready for shipment. From 1854 to 1860, the trade in salted fish increased to over two hundred and fifty thousand packages, valued at more than one million dollars. Whitefish weighing from twenty to twenty-five pounds were frequently taken in gill nets, and lake trout were caught that weighed eighty-five pounds.

The pound or trap nets introduced about 1865, and later the long gangs of gill nets set about the shoals and reefs in the lakes, and operated by men on steam tugs, into which fish were taken from the shores and shoals while spawning, and at all other times, have nearly ruined the business, and if it were not for the artificial hatching and annual planting

*There are now (1904) three villas in the East fort garden; the grounds are leased from the Park Commission.

†Now the City Graded School.

of fry, there would be very few fish left in the lakes. Most of the catch now is packed in ice and shipped fresh to Chicago and other points; few are salted. The business can only be revived by international legislation of a protective character, as the United States and Canada control these high seas. 1909. International control is now law.

PEOPLE OF THE ISLAND.

Among the business firms and families of Mackinac Island before and since 1840, are: Jonathan N. Bailey,*



AN INDIAN MAIDEN

Jonathan P. King, Reverend A. D. Piret, Edward Guilbault, L. Y. B. Birchard, P. C. Kevan, Wm. M. Johnson, J. H. Cook, McLeods, Wm. Madison, J. S. Saltonstall, John Becker, Adrian R. Root, Wendells, Toll & Rice, Lasleys, Charles M. O'Malley, Jones and Drew families, Biddle & Drew, Chapman & Gray, William Scott, Edward Kanter, Peter White, Samuel K. Haring, Bela Chapman. Edward A. Franks, Michael Earley, Hulbert & Kirtland, Leopold & Austrian, Bromilow & Bates, John G. Read, Hoban Brothers, Henry Van Allen, C. B. Fenton, Todds, Chambers,

McNally and Donelly families, Douds and McIntyres, Graveraet, Desbro, Gaskill. Truscott, Bennett and Davis families, Tanner, Grauger and Hamblins, George T. Arnold, F. B. Stockbridge, John W. Davis & Son, George Truscott & Son, Dominick Murray and family, John R. Bailey & Sons, H. W. Overall, W. P. Preston, Wm. Sullivan, Shomin, Lapeen, Allaird, McGulpin, Martineau, Ranville, Taylor, Burdette,

*Postmaster 1825-1829; later first postmaster of Chicago.

and Cheniers, Bogan family and Foleys, James F. Cable, Mulcrones, Holdens, Murray Brothers and McCartys.

COUNTY AND BOROUGH OF MICHILIMACKINAC.

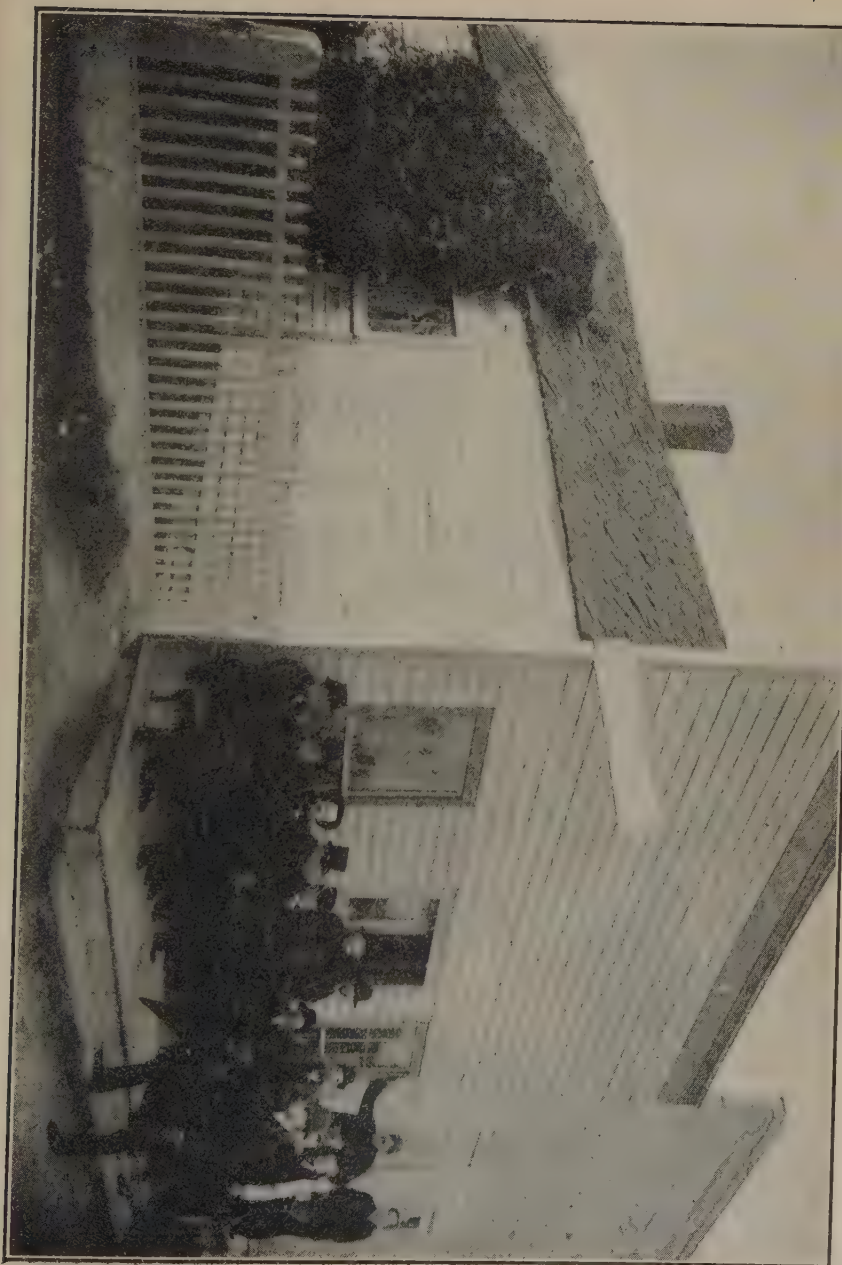
Under the Territory, the jurisdiction of the courts at Michilimackinac extended over a large area of the Southern Peninsula, all of the Northern, the greater part of Wisconsin and westward to the Pacific Ocean. When Michigan became a State in 1837, the boundaries of the county of Michilimackinac were south to Saginaw Bay (the south line across the State being the north line of township twenty), west to the Menominee River and north to Canada. As the country settled, the boundaries were gradually contracted to the present limits. The borough of Michilimackinac (afterward village of Mackinac*) was the country seat. The village (borough) was incorporated in 1817, April 6; amended 1842-1843; the act of April 6, 1817, repealed March 16, 1847; amended 1859, 1865, 1869; reincorporated 1875 and February 19, 1895; incorporated as a city of the fourth class, 1899; amended 1902. September 18, 1882, the county seat was transferred from Mackinac Island to St. Ignace.

THE RIGHT TO THE BEACH.

1909. The New York Court of Appeals, has handed down a decision which affirms "the right of the beach." The court held that any pier or superstructure which prevents the public from free access to the beach may be removed by the authorities or may become a cause for damages by the owner of adjoining property if it interferes with his bathing, boating or fishing. The effect of this decision is to make the beach public property.

In view of the importance of the matter and of the apparently conflicting legal opinions relative to the seashore steps would be in order to ascertain what rights the public has in the lake beaches in this state and to take measures to secure for all time for the people the largest possible use of them.

*1899. Reincorporated into City of Mackinac Island.



If beach property has been held fifty years or more, title can not be acquired against the general government. Most of the Patents and Private Claims on Michilimackinac Island, except where there are meander lines on the water fronts, reserve 100 feet for a street or public highway. In a number of places on the water fronts of those Patents, 60 feet of the street and water front, has been occupied and built upon, from which owners of abutting property on the street and the public are excluded.



GUNS, UPPER PARAPET, FORT MACKINAC, 1879

ARMAMENT OF FORT MACKINAC.

1904. In 1845 Captain Silas Casey, Second United States Infantry, commanding Fort Mackinac, showed in his Ordinance returns:

- 2 12-pounder brass guns, on ramparts.
- 2 18-pounder iron guns, on ramparts.
- 2 12-pounder iron guns, near old magazine.
- 2 9-pounder iron guns, near old magazine.
- 5 6-pounder iron guns, 1 in East, 2 in West, and 2 in North Block-houses.
- 1 4-pounder iron gun, in East Block-house.
- 2 5 8-10 inch iron Howitzers, in East Block-house.

The same guns were there from 1852 to 1856, when Thomas Williams, Captain and Brevet Major 4th Artillery, commanded.

In 1853 Major Williams got five additional brass field guns, with carriages, and one ten-inch iron mortar. All the guns were smoothbore. The last five guns and the mortar were sent to Fort Brady, when this fort was abandoned in 1895. Returned in June, 1905, through statement of Com'r. Bailey, in letter to the Secretary of War, William H. Taft, presented by Com'r Peter White. The other sixteen guns were sold at auction by order of the Secretary of War when the northern forts were all dismantled, just before the breaking out of the Civil War. Some of the guns were marked: "Taken from Sara (to) ga." "Taken from Lord Cornwallis," et cetera. A few were consigned to the scrap pile for old iron, and some were shipped to Buffalo and other ports and used as snubbing posts on the docks; they deserved a better fate. There were, also, during the first British occupation, two brass 6-pounders, brought over from Fort Michilimackinac, on the south shore, that were taken, before 1763, from the posts at Hudson Bay, by a party of French Canadians who went on a plundering expedition.



MASTER JOHN BAILEY CLOW

1907. August 13, 1907, a tablet in the south wall of Fort Mackinac, in memory of General Thomas Williams, U. S. Army, who was killed, at the head of his victorious army, in the battle of Baton Rouge, La., August 5, 1862, was dedicated by Rt. Rev. Charles D. Williams, Bishop of Michigan, assisted by Rt. Rev. G. Mott Williams, (a son of the general) the Bishop of Marquette. The Bishop of Michigan read, in con-



GENERAL
THOMAS WILLIAMS

nection, an historical memorial contributed by Hon. Peter White, of Marquette. Master John Bailey Clow, of Boulder, Colorado, grandnephew of General Williams and grandson of Commissioner Bailey, unveiled the tablet.

General Williams commanded Fort Mackinac from 1852 to 1856. There he met and married Mary Neosho Bailey.

1879—LEGEND OF MICHILIMACKINAC

The following was written for the "Department of the East," Military Division of the Atlantic, and published in pamphlet form. A copy is in the "Park Book" "No. 1," "Letters Sent," pages 126 to 135, inclusive, Fort Mackinac, Michigan. The notes added marked with a star,* and inclosed in parentheses (), are not in my original:

Fort Mackinac, Mackinac Island, Michigan. Latitude 45° 51' 22" north; Longitude 84° 41' 22" west.

Height of parade ground above Lake Huron, 150 feet. (*Estimated; since found to be 133 feet.)

Area of Island.—The island is about nine miles in circumference. (*Actual measurement, on the beach, within the water line, eight miles, less twenty feet.) Area, 3.47 square miles.

(*Elevation of Lakes Huron and Michigan, above sea level, is "581 3-10 feet." "Lake Superior 601 8-10 feet." "The difference of 20½ feet between Lakes Superior and Huron occurs in the rapids of St. Mary's river.")

The general trend of the land is from northwest to southeast, having a diameter of about three miles and a breadth, from southwest to northwest, of a little less than two miles.

Area in acres:

*Mackinac National Park	911.21
*Military Reservation	103.41
Private Claims	1,207.20

Total2,221.82

Geology.—This peculiar formation is part of the Onondaga salt groups of the Upper Silurian System, and the

*In 1895 the Mackinac Island State Park was created from the National Park and Military Reservation.

Upper Helderberg limestone group of the Devonian System. The first, or base, is of unknown thickness, and the second, forming the body, or cap, about 250 feet deep.

The south end of the island, and face, is plainly terraced. Starting from the apex of Fort Holmes, 318 feet above Lake Huron, before we come to the water, there are four distinctly marked natural terraces, each showing the wave lines of aqueous formation. The existence of the island is probably due, under the agency of the Divine Creator, to the gradual subsidence of the waters during thousands of years of time. Trilobites are found in the limestone formation. Beautiful arches, caves, conical and pyramidal rocks have been formed by time and the action of the elements on the limestone surface and add greatly to the beauty of the scenic isle. Of such, the Great Arch Rock, †Fairy Arch of the Giant's Stair Way, Scott's Cave, Sugar Loaf Rock, Lover's Leap, Chimney Rock, and others are examples.

Climate.—On account of the large bodies of fresh water surrounding, the climate is pleasant and agreeable. Extremes of temperature are 90° Fahr., and—23° Fahr.; average about 39° Fahr. (to 41°).

Soil.—The surface of the island is very irregular, and the soil scanty, but very rich, covering, as a general rule, the underlying rock only a few inches.

Vegetation.—The timber which has been cut down from time to time is small. Beech, maple, iron wood, oak, birch, wild cherry, and hazel, arbor vitae, fir, spruce, pine, juniper, tamarack, et cetera, are the principal. The common juniper abounds.

Fort Mackinac and Island.—The fort is built on the bluff of a plateau at the southeastern side of the island, and overlooks, in frowning grandeur, the straits and the little village of Mackinac, nestling on the beach, around the bay below. The Island of Mackinac is situated in the straits of the same name, between the Northern and Southern Peninsulas of Michigan, about one-third the distance through the straits from the eastern or Lake Huron side. The island is about three miles from the shore of the Northern Peninsula, and

†Fairy Arch, see page 201.



FAIRY ARCH, DISCOVERED AND NAMED BY DOCTOR BAILEY IN 1866

south side seven or eight miles from the Southern Peninsula. In front of the fort, to the southeast, is Round Island, a mile distant, and three miles away, in the same direction, is the west end of the large island of Bois Blanc (white-wood), which stretches out ten or twelve miles to the eastward, towards Lake Huron. The bay, or harbor, is small, of the usual horseshoe or crescentic form, and should be improved by breakwaters on the southwest and southeast points.

Near Places.—The village of Mackinac on the beach, in front of the fort adjoining the Military Reservation and Park, (in two detached portions) is the nearest most important town. It is the county seat (*was then) of Mackinac county, has about 700 inhabitants, seven hotels, (*now ten) a number of private boarding houses and several fine stores. It is one of the most noted and healthful summer resorts in the country, and is visited by hundreds of people from all parts of the Continent and Europe, who are in search of health, pleasure and recreation. The next town near the island, is Point St. Ignace, on the mainland, three miles to the northwest of the island, population about 450. (*St. Ignace is now a city and is the county seat, population 2,500). But the most important town, near the fort, is Cheboygan,† at the mouth of the Cheboygan river, in the Southern Peninsula, about sixteen and a half miles southeast, population 2,500 (*present population of the City of Cheboygan is about 7,000.) Fort Brady, Sault Ste. Marie, sixty miles north and east, is the nearest military post. The nearest railroad station is Petoskey, fifty-five miles distant, on Little Traverse Bay, Lake Michigan, (*since the G. R. & I. R. R., and the Mackinac Division of the M. C. R. R. have extended their lines to Mackinaw, a village of about 250 inhabitants, adjoining the site of (South) Fort Michilimackinac. These roads make daily connections by ferry steamers—ice crushers—*Ste. Marie* and *St. Ignace*, from St. Ignace, the terminal point of the D., S. S. and A. R. R., and the M., St. P. and Sault Ste Marie R. R., and with Mackinac Island by the Steam ferry *Algoma*.) Three months dur-

†Algonquin—Place of entrance, portage, or harbor.

ing the summer season there is a daily mail from Petoskey and a mail three times a week via Cheboygan the rest of the year, (*now there is a daily mail per day, by the railroads and steam ferry connections.) During the season of navigation from about the 25th of April to the 15th of December this place is accessible by lines of steamers from Buffalo, Detroit, Chicago and other points, which land at all hours of the day and night and in winter by rail to Petoskey (*See notes above), stage via Cheboygan, thence over the ice bridge to Mackinac.

The straits generally freeze over about the 15th or 20th of January and continue closed until the 15th or 25th of April.

The entire section of country bordering the straits and vicinity, with the islands in the straits, was originally called Michilimackinac, or Michilimakina, rendered thus by the French from the Indian name *Me-che-ne-mock-i-nong*, which is said to mean Great Turtle. It was thus named by the savages from a fancied resemblance of the island, as seen from Point St. Ignace, to the back of a large turtle. The name has since been contracted to Mackinac, now pronounced by the English *Mack-i-naw*. This beautiful Isle of Mackinac, the "Home of the Great Manitou," and of the spirits whom the Indians delighted to worship, was a favorite sporting and camping ground of various Indian tribes long before the white man trod its sacred soil.

Settlement.—The first settlement of Michilimackinac by white men, it is said, was the founding of the mission of St. Ignatius at Michilimackinong, now Point St. Ignace, in 1671 by Reverend James Marquette. (*Recent research shows that Mackinac Island was settled before St. Ignace, and we believe that its occupation antedates any other in this region of the lakes.) Within two or three years thereafter, the first stockade at the post of Michilimackinac was constructed. The stockade itself was called, by the French, some other name. (1909. *Fort de Buade*, named for Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac, Governor General of Canada, 1672-82, 1689-98.) This post was the most important in all Canada; it was the center of the fur trade, and the base of supplies for the entire northwest. The garrison consisted of two hundred soldiers, and at least 8,000 Indians, in wigwams and

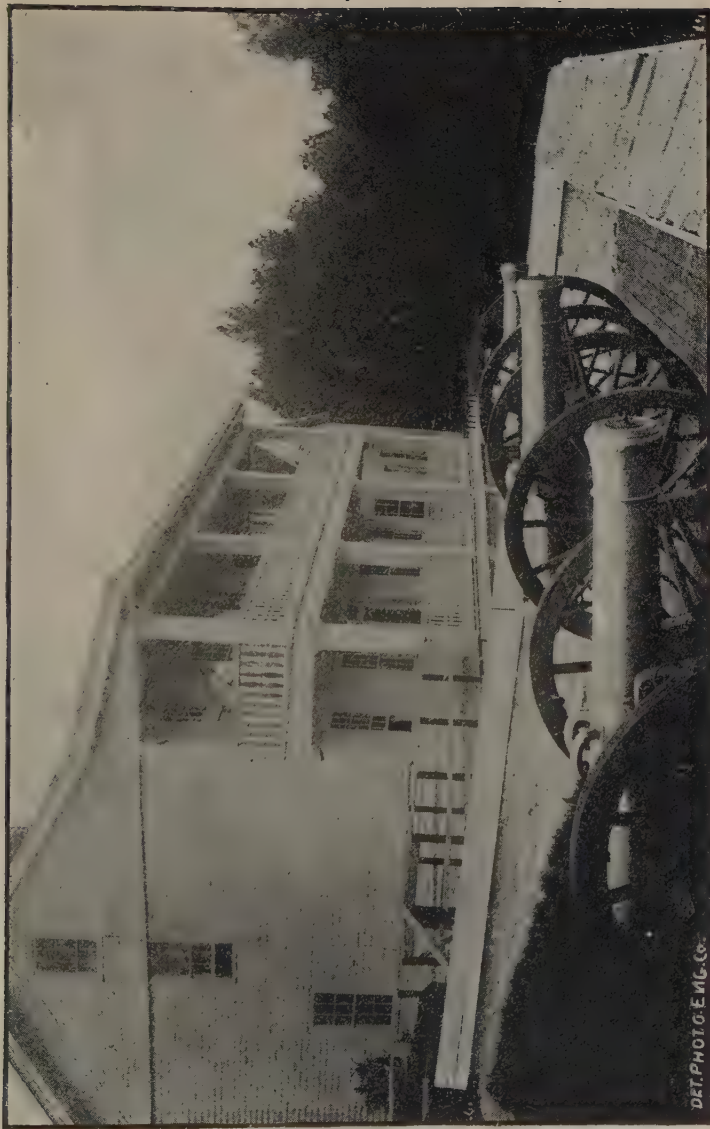
villages, were encamped along the shores. Finally the post was abandoned and subsequently the Post of Michilimackinac, and a mission of the same name, were established in 1728 (*that date is not positively known) at what is now called (old) Mackinaw, on the south shore of the straits eight miles from this point. It was held by the French until 1761 when it was transferred to the English as a part of the territory ceded by the French in 1760.

Massacre.—June 4, 1763, as a part of the plot of the conspiracy of Pontiac, the English garrison was surprised and captured by the Indians, a portion of the command massacred, and the rest made captives. For a little more than a year after the massacre the post was occupied by *coureur de bois* and a few Indians as a temporary residence. It was then taken possession of by Captain Howard of the British army, with two companies of troops and occupied until 1780. That year it was abandoned and the troops were removed to the Island of Mackinac.

Fort Mackinac.—The present fort was occupied July 15, 1780, but not completed until 1783. At that time the stone building (on ground plan marked 3) and the block-houses 27, 28 and 29, and a strong bomb-proof magazine with arched walls, six feet thick, built on part of the site of the present commissary, 9, were constructed, also, the two arches and stone works, surmounted by a stockade of white cedar posts squared and pointed at the tops, about ten feet high and set in the lines intersecting the block-houses. The stockade was pierced with two sets of loopholes for musketry and the block-houses were armed with small iron cannon. The whole formed a most perfect and secure defense against the Indians of that day.

In 1817-18 and as late as 1856-7 the fort retained much of its original appearance. About this last date a part of the stockade rotted and fell down and the rest was removed. The other parts of the old fort and works, viz., the stone wall facing the lake, and the other stone and earth works, block-houses and old buildings, 1, 2, 3 and 4, retain much if not all their uniqueness.

Buildings.—The material of 3, 27, 28 and 29 is rough limestone, quarried near the fort, of various shapes and sizes. The walls are very thick and strong, and although now



DET. PHOTO. ENG. CO.

POST HOSPITAL AND UPPER GUN PLATFORM, FORT MACKINAC, 1884

about one hundred years old, bid fair to last for centuries. No. 3 is one story high, on the parade with a basement facing the water, and a two-story porch on the water front. It is divided by a stone wall into two equal parts, with a narrow hall through the center of each half, and a set of officers' quarters on each side of the halls. The barracks for two companies, 5 and 6, were constructed in 1858. Other buildings on the same foundations have been twice destroyed by fire. An upper story, 6, was added, and the porch remodeled to make room for two companies in 1876-7. This barrack is a two-story frame building with porches the whole length in front, facing the parade ground southeast. The upper story of the porch has a tight deck planking that answers the double purpose of a floor above and a roof for the lower part. The dormitories are 11 5-12 feet high and are fitted with single iron bedsteads, each having an air space of 496 and 749 cubic feet respectively. Messrooms and kitchens, 6, are in the rear of the main building.

Hospital.—10, 11, 12, is a wooden structure two stories high, with porches in front facing the lake, standing on the second level, east and just outside of the old walls of the fort, about 17 feet above the level of the parade ground. It is a double house with wide halls through the center of each story, and rooms on the sides of the halls. There are three wards besides the other rooms, capacity 14 beds, with an air space of from 600 to 800 cubic feet each. It was constructed in 1858. There is no bathroom nor dead house attached. (*Since a dead house and also hospital steward's quarters, both near by, have been built and a bathroom added to the hospital.)

(*At the last meeting of the State Park Commission, held May 23, 1904, this Hospital, with the buildings attached, and the grounds east of the lines of the Old Fort, south of the east block-house, within the inclosure, was set apart, at a nominal rental, as a Hospital and Sanitarium for the use of the people of the island and visiting tourists, on condition that it be kept in repair, and be supported by subscriptions and endowments).

(1909. *Hon. Peter White, just before his decease, gave the author \$500.00 towards this Hospital, and promised further support, and aid of friends. That fund is deposited

in the People's State Bank, Detroit, Mich. There could not be a more fitting monument to that distinguished pioneer.)

Commissary.—This fine building was completed in 1878. It is a one-story frame house, built on the site of the old magazine. It has a cellar which is part of the walls of the demolished magazine.

(1909. *The magazine was a one story, thick walled limestone structure, roof shape of block-houses, three consecutive arches, top covered with sod. As Post Surgeon, in 1877, we protested against its destruction.)

Officers' Quarters.—25 remodeled, and 26 added, 26, 22, 23, and 24, constructed in 1876-7, all on the right of the flagstaff on the second level, are new modern houses, one and a half stories high, with wide one-story porches in front, bay windows on the west and east sides of each. Commandant's block, 21, with a hall in the center and two rooms on each side of hall; 23 and 25 are also double, with two halls in the center, separated by a division wall and two rooms on the outside of each hall. The attic stories of each are finished, and there are dining-rooms and kitchens, 22, 24, 26, 28 in the rear.

Other Buildings.—The magazine, 18 brick, and the wood buildings 19, 20, 14, 15, 16 and 31, were constructed in 1876-7. Date of construction of 13, 30 and 32 unknown. There are no reliable data to tell the probable cost of construction.

Drainage.—The drainage is natural and very good.

Water.—The supply is from a well back of the stockade and from cisterns but mostly from the lake, and has to be drawn up the steep hill in carts. This keeps two men and a span of mules constantly employed. (*A system of water supply, through iron pipes, forced from a spring at the foot of the hill west of the fort, has since been devised. The spring water, hard, from the limestone formation, is forced into a reservoir in the upper story of the north block-house by a steam pumping engine and is thence distributed to all of the building. Bathrooms, water-closets and drainage pipes have also been put in the officers' and men's quarters and the hospital. Water is now (1902) supplied by the City Waterworks, pumped from Lake Huron into the Reservoir on Fort Holmes plateau.)

Sanitary.—The health of the post is excellent. There are no epidemics or prevailing diseases. It is, probably, the most healthy station in America.

Reservations.—The original reservation, mostly on the east side of the island, contained a little more than two square miles. (See Captain J. N. Macomb's T. E. Map of Island of Mackinac, 1855.)

Round Island.—Is reserved for lighthouse purposes. (*It is in the corporate limits of the village of Mackinac; area, 180 acres.)

Bois Blanc Island—*Wigob-im-in-iss, Basswood Island, —A large part of the island (containing 21,351 88-100) is "Reserved to supply Fuel for the Garrison of Michilimackinac." †The sections reserved are: "10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 31, 32, 33 and 34" (sixteen sections=9,733 32-100 acres). See map "According to survey filed in Surveyor General's Office, Chillicothe, Ohio, October 5th, 1827."

National Park.—By an Act of Congress, March 3, 1875, the Military Reservation, and the United States lands, on the island, not in market, were set apart as a National Park, excepting only the present Reservation, 103.41 acres around the fort. See map "Mackinac National Park," by Major G. Weitzel, U. S. A., 1875. The park is under the control of the Secretary of War, and the commanding officer of Fort Mackinac is, ex-officio, the Superintendent.

History.—From 1780 to 1795 the fort was held by the British. Then the place was peacefully occupied by our forces in accordance with previous treaty. Our troops held the position until July 17, 1812, when the fort and island were captured without bloodshed by Captain Roberts of the English army, from St. Joseph's Island, with only a few, 135, soldiers and about 1,000 Indians. Roberts landed in the night, on the north side of the island in a small bay, that has ever since been called the British Landing. Fearing he could not hold what he had so easily attained, he caused the redoubt of Fort George (Fort Holmes), a very strong earthwork, to be erected on the highest point of the island, about a half

†See page 223, Bois Blanc Island Bill.

or three-quarters of a mile in rear of the present fort. Between the 4th and 8th of August, 1814, a force of United States troops, under Colonel Croghan and Major Holmes, attempted to recapture the island. A severe battle was fought, and our troops were surprised and defeated by the British and Indians in ambush. Major Holmes and twelve men were killed, three officers and forty-eight men were wounded and two missing. Failing in the attempt Colonel Croghan withdrew the remnant of his command to his shipping.

During the following winter, 1814-15, peace was concluded and the English evacuated the place in the spring, (*summer July 18, 1815.) Fort George has since been called Fort Holmes in honor of the lamented major.

The fort has been several times without a garrison, and many of the old records are lost or stolen. It is at present garrisoned by Co.'s C and D of the 10th Infantry, Captain and Brevet Major E. E. Sellers in command. The morale and discipline of the command, together with the police regulations of the fort, are excellent.

Fort Mackinac, Michigan, August 20, 1879.

JOHN R. BAILEY,

Acting Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army, Post Surgeon.

SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT OF MACKINAC NATIONAL PARK.

When General Belknap was Secretary of War, in 1875, he sent a letter through General Sackett, Inspector General United States Army, requesting Doctor John R. Bailey to give a written outline for the improvement, et cetera, of Mackinac Island National Park. We suggested that the park be left as nearly as possible in a state of nature, the present roads, walks and bridle paths should be improved, and the carriage roads widened. An additional road around the island on the bluff, and one on the beach below, both to be connected at convenient places. A limited number of lots to be platted at suitable points, subject to lease, one parcel



INFANTRY OF FT. MACKINAC SUPPORTING A FIELD GUN, 1906

only to each applicant, for a stated time (with a privilege of renewal), so that there could be no chance for speculation, the whole to be under the direction and control of the Secretary of War, and the commanding officer of Fort Mackinac, *ex-officio*, the superintendent of said park, in accordance with the title of the original bill. And that an additional company of troops be sent to patrol and police the park. The additional company was sent, and new quarters and barracks were erected in 1876-7 for their accommodation.

All work and plotting of lots on the park appear to have been done, as nearly as could be, according to the letter and spirit of that communication.

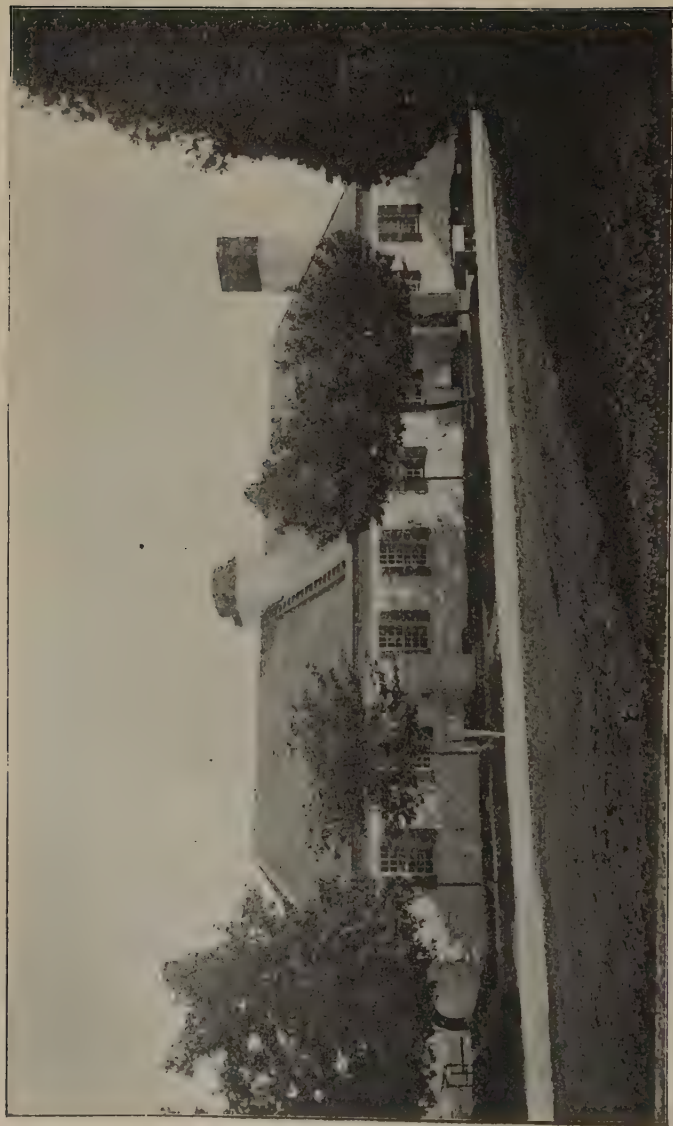
LIST OF OFFICERS AT FORT MACKINAC, 1815-1895

"List of Officers stationed at Fort Mackinac, Michigan, and year of their arrival, from 1815 to 1895 inclusive:

1815. Anthony Butler, Colonel 2nd. Rifles.
Willoughby Morgan, Captain Riflemen.
Talbot Chambers, Major.
Joseph Kean, Captain.
Joseph O'Fallow, Captain.
John Heddelson, 1st Lieutenant.
James S. Gray, 2nd Lieutenant.
Wm. Armstrong, 2nd Lieutenant.
William Hening, Surgeon's Mate.
Benjamin K. Pierce, Captain, Artillery.
Robert McCallum, Jr., 1st Lieutenant, Artillery.
Louis Morgan, 1st Lieutenant, Artillery.
George S. Wilkins, 2nd Lieutenant Artillery.
John S. Pierce, 2nd Lieutenant, Artillery.
Thomas J. Baird, 3rd Lieutenant, Artillery.
1816. John Miller, Colonel, 3rd Infantry.
John McNeil, Major, 5th Infantry.
Charles Gratiot, Major, Engineers.
William Whistler, Captain, 3rd Infantry.
John Greene, Captain, 3rd Infantry.
Daniel Curtis, 1st Lieutenant, 3rd Infantry.
John Garland, 1st Lieutenant, 3rd Infantry.
Turly F. Thomas, 1st Lieutenant, 3rd Infantry.
Henry J. Conway, Jr., Lieutenant, 3rd Infantry.
James Dean, 2nd Lieutenant, 3rd Infantry.
Andrew Lewis, 2nd Lieutenant, 3rd Infantry.
Asher Phillips, Paymaster, 3rd Infantry.
1817. Edward Purcell, Hospital Surgeon's Mate.
Albion T. Crow, Hospital Surgeon's Mate.
William S. Evelith, 2nd Lieutenant, Engineers.
1818. Edward Brooks, 1st Lieutenant, 3rd Infantry.
Joseph P. Russell, Post Surgeon.
1819. Joseph Gleason (died at Station, March 27th, 1820) 1st Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.
William Lawrence, Lieutenant-Colonel, 2nd Infantry.
Peter T. January, 2nd Lieutenant, 3rd Infantry.
John Peacock, 2nd Lieutenant, 3rd Infantry.
William S. Comstock, Surgeon's Mate, 3rd Infantry.
- 1821 William Beaumont, Post Surgeon.
Thomas C. Legate, Captain, 2nd Artillery.
Elija Lyon, 1st Lieutenant, 3rd Artillery.
James A. Chambers, 2nd Lieutenant, 3rd Artillery.
Joshua Barney, 2nd Lieutenant, 3rd Artillery.
1822. James M. Spencer, 1st Lieutenant, 2nd Artillery.
1823. Alexander C. W. Fanning, Captain, 2nd Infantry.

- William Whistler, Captain, 3rd Infantry.
 Samuel W. Hunt, 1st Lieutenant, 3rd Infantry.
 Aaron H. Wright, 2nd Lieutenant, 3rd Infantry.
 George H. Crosman, 2nd Lieutenant, 6th Infantry.
 Stewart Cowan, 2nd Lieutenant, 3rd Infantry.
1825. William Hoffman, Captain, 2nd Infantry.
 Richard S. Satterlee, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
 Carlos A. Wait, 2nd Lieutenant, 2nd Infantry.
 Seth Johnson, 1st Lieutenant, 2nd Infantry.
1826. David Brooks, 2nd Lieutenant, 2nd Infantry.
 Alexander B. Thompson, Captain, 2nd Infantry.
1827. James G. Allen, 2nd Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.
 Edwin James, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
 Ephraim K. Barnum, 1st Lieutenant, 2nd Infantry.
 Edwin V. Sumner, 2nd Lieutenant, 2nd Infantry.
 Samuel T. Heintzelman, 2nd Lieutenant, 2nd Infantry.
1828. Charles F. Morton, 1st Lieutenant, 2nd Infantry.
 Sullivan Burbank, Captain, 5th Infantry.
 Robert McCabe, Captain, 5th Infantry.
 William Alexander, 1st Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.
 Abner B. Hetzel, 2nd Lieutenant, 2nd Infantry.
 Josiah H. Vose, Major, 5th Infantry.
1829. James Engle, 2nd Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.
 Amos Foster, 2nd Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.
 Enos Cutler, Lieutenant-Colonel, 3rd Infantry.
 Moses E. Merrill, 2nd Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.
 Ephraim Kirby Smith, 2nd Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.
 Isaac Lynde, 2nd Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.
 Caleb C. Sibley, 2nd Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.
 William E. Cruger, 1st Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.
 Louis T. Jamison, 2nd Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.
1830. Henry Clark, 1st Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.
1831. John T. Collingworth, 2nd Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.
 Robert McMillan, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
1832. George M. Brooks, Colonel, 5th Infantry.
 Waddy V. Cobbs, Captain, 2nd Infantry.
 Joseph S. Gallagher, 1st Lieutenant, 2nd Infantry.
 George W. Patten, 2nd Lieutenant, 2nd Infantry.
 Thomas Stockton, Brevet 2nd Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.
 Alexander B. Thompson, Major, 6th Infantry.
 John B. F. Russell, Captain, 5th Infantry.
1833. William Whistler, Major, 2nd Infantry.
 Ephraim K. Barnum, Captain, 2nd Infantry.
 Joseph R. Smith, 1st Lieutenant, 2nd Infantry.
 James W. Penrose, 2nd Lieutenant, 2nd Infantry.
 Charles S. Frailey, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
 George F. Turner, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
1834. Jesse H. Leavenworth, 2nd Lieutenant, 2nd Infantry.
 John Clitz, died at station, November 7, 1836, Captain, 2nd Infantry.
1835. James V. Bomford, 2nd Lieutenant, 2nd Infantry.

- Julius J. B. Kingsbury, 1st Lieutenant, 2nd Infantry.
 Massena R. Patrick, Brevet 2nd Lieutenant, 2nd Infantry.
1836. James W. Anderson, 2nd Lieutenant, 2nd Infantry.
 Erastus B. Wolcott, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
1839. Samuel McKenzie, Captain, 2nd Artillery.
 Arnold Elzey Jones, 2nd Lieutenant, 2nd Artillery.
1840. Harvey Brown, Captain, 4th Artillery.
 John W. Phelps, 1st Lieutenant, 4th Artillery.
 John C. Pemberton, 2nd Lieutenant, 4th Artillery.
1841. Patrick H. Galt, Captain, 4th Artillery.
 George C. Thomas, 1st Lieutenant, 4th Artillery.
 George W. Getty, 2nd Lieutenant, 4th Artillery.
 Henry Holt, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
 Alexander Johnston, Captain, 5th Infantry.
 A. Brainard, Acting Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
 William Chapman, 1st Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.
 Spencer Norvell, 2nd Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.
 Henry Whiting, 2nd Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.
 John M. Jones, Brevet 2nd Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.
1842. Martin Scott, Captain, 5th Infantry.
 Reverend John O'Brien, Chaplain.
1843. Levi H. Holden, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
 Moses E. Merrill, Captain, 5th Infantry.
 William Root, 1st Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.
 John C. Robinson, 2nd Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.
1844. John Byrne, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
1845. Charles C. Keeney, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
 George C. Wescott, 2nd Lieutenant, 2nd Infantry.
 Silas Casey, Captain 2nd Infantry.
 Joseph P. Smith, Brevet 2nd Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.
 Fred Steele, Brevet 2nd Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.
1847. Frazey M. Winans, Captain, 15th Infantry.
 Michael P. Doyle, 2nd Lieutenant, 15th Infantry.
 Morgan L. Gage, Captain, 1st Michigan Volunteers.
 Caleb F. Davis, 1st Lieutenant, 1st Michigan Volunteers.
 William F. Chittendon, 2nd Lieutenant, 1st Michigan Volunteers.
1848. William N. B. Beall, Brevet 2nd Lieutenant, 4th Infantry.
 Charles H. Larned, Captain, 4th Infantry.
 Hiram Dryer, 2nd Lieutenant, 4th Infantry.
1849. Joseph B. Brown, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
 Ulysses S. Grant, 1st Lieutenant, 4th Infantry, detached in Detroit.
 Joseph I. Tidball, Brevet 2nd Lieutenant, 4th Infantry.
1850. Charles H. Lamb, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
1851. David L. Russel, 1st Lieutenant, 4th Infantry.
1852. Thomas Williams, Captain (Brevet Major), 4th Artillery.



OFFICERS' STONE QUARTERS, MACKINAC ISLAND, 1780-8.—BEAUMONT'S QUARTERS

1852. George W. Rains, 1st Lieutenant (Brevet Major), 4th Artillery.
Jacob Culbertson, 2nd Lieutenant, 4th Artillery.
Joseph Howard Bailey, Captain, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
1854. John R. Bailey, Acting Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
1855. John H. Grelaud, 1st Lieutenant, 4th Artillery.
Joseph B. Brown, Captain, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army
1856. John R. Bailey, Acting Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
Edward F. Bagley, 2nd Lieutenant, 4th Artillery.
William R. Terrell, 1st Lieutenant, 4th Artillery.
Joseph H. Wheelock, 1st Lieutenant, 4th Artillery.
John Byrne, Captain, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
1857. Arnold Elzey (Jones), Captain, 2nd Artillery.
Henry Benson, 1st Lieutenant, 2nd Artillery.
Guilford D. Bailey, 2nd Lieutenant, 2nd Artillery.
John R. Bailey, Acting Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
1858. Henry C. Pratt, Captain, 2nd Artillery.
Henry A. Smalley, 2nd Lieutenant, 2nd Artillery.
John F. Head, Captain, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
1859. William A. Hammond, Captain, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
George R. Hartsuff, 1st Lieutenant, 2nd Artillery.
1860. John R. Bailey, Acting Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
George E. Cooper, Captain, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
1862. Grover S. Wormer, Captain, Stanton Guards, Michigan Volunteers.
Elias F. Sutton, 1st Lieutenant, Stanton Guards, Michigan Volunteers.
Louis Hertmeyer, 2nd Lieutenant, Stanton Guards Michigan Volunteers.
James Knox, Chaplain, Michigan Volunteers.
Ft. Mackinac discontinued as a Chaplain Post, October 14, 1864.
John Gregg, Acting Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army, Michigan Volunteers.
Charles W. Le Boutillier, Assistant Surgeon, 1st Minnesota Infantry Volunteers.
1866. Jerry N. Hill, Captain, Veteran Reserve Corps.
Washington L. Wood, 2nd Lieutenant, Veteran Reserve Corps.
John R. Bailey, Acting Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
1867. John Mitchell (Reed), Captain, 43rd Infantry.
Edwin C. Gaskill, 1st Lieutenant, 43rd Infantry.
Julius Stommell, 2nd Lieutenant, 43rd Infantry.
Hiram R. Mills, Acting Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
1869. Leslie Smith, Captain (Brevet Major), 1st Infantry.
John Leonard, 1st Lieutenant, 1st Infantry.
Matthew Markland, 2nd Lieutenant, 1st Infantry.
1870. Samuel S. Jessop, Captain, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
1871. Thomas Sharp, 1st Lieutenant, 1st Infantry.
John R. Bailey, Acting Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.

1872. William N. Notson, Captain, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
 1873. John R. Bailey Acting Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
 Carlos Carvallo, Captain, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
 1874. Carlos J. Dickey, Captain (Brevet Major), 22nd Infantry.
 John McA. Webster, 2nd Lieutenant, 22nd Infantry.
 John R. Bailey, Acting Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
 J. Victor DeHanne, Captain, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
 W. W. Dougherty, 1st Lieutenant, 22nd Infantry.
 1875. Alfred L. Hough, Major, 22nd Infantry.
 1876. Joseph Bush, Captain (Brevet Major), 22nd Infantry.
 Thomas H. Fisher, 1st Lieutenant, 22nd Infantry.
 Fielding L. Davis, 2nd Lieutenant, 22nd Infantry.
 John R. Bailey, Acting Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
 1877. Charles A. Webb, Captain (Brevet Major), 22nd Infantry.
 John G. Ballance, 2nd Lieutenant, 22nd Infantry.
 Theodore Mosher, Jr., 2nd Lieutenant, 22nd Infantry.
 Peter Moffat, Captain, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
 1878. Oscar D. Ladley, 1st Lieutenant, 22nd Infantry.
 1879. Edwin E. Sellers (died April 8, 1884) Captain (Brevet Major), 10th Infantry.
 Dwight H. Kelton, 1st Lieutenant, 10th Infantry.
 Walter T. Duggan, 1st Lieutenant, 10th Infantry.
 Bogardus Eldridge, 2nd Lieutenant, 10th Infantry.
 Edward H. Plummer, 2nd Lieutenant, 10th Infantry.
 Charles L. Davis, Captain, 10th Infantry.
 John R. Bailey, Acting Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
 1880. George W. Adair, Captain, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
 1881. John R. Bailey, Acting Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
 1882. William H. Corbusier, Captain, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
 1883. John Adams Perry, 2nd Lieutenant, 10th Infantry.
 1884. George K. Brady, Captain (Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel), 23rd Infantry.
 Greenleaf A. Goodale, Captain, 23rd Infantry.
 Edward B. Pratt, 1st Lieutenant, 23rd Infantry.
 Stephen O'Connor, 2nd Lieutenant, 23rd Infantry.
 Benjamin C. Morse, 2nd Lieutenant, 23rd Infantry.
 Calvin D. Cowles, 1st Lieutenant, 23rd Infantry.
 J. Rozier Clagett, 1st Lieutenant, 23rd Infantry.
 John R. Bailey, Acting Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
 1886. William C. Manning, Captain, 23rd Infantry. Retired Major
 March 2nd, 1898. Died May 5th, 1901.
 George B. Davis, 2nd Lieutenant, 23rd Infantry.
 1887. Charles E. Woodruff, 1st Lieutenant, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
 1889. John R. Bailey, Acting Assistant Surgeon U. S. Army.
 Harlan E. McVay, Acting Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
 1890. Jacob H. Smith Captain 19th Infantry.
 Charles T. Witherell, Captain, 19th Infantry.
 Edmund D. Smith, 1st Lieutenant, 19th Infantry.
 1890. Zebulon B. Vance, Jr., 2nd Lieutenant, 19th Infantry.

- Woodbridge Geary, 2nd Lieutenant, 19th Infantry.
Henry G. Learnard, 2nd Lieutenant, 19th Infantry.
Edwin M. Coates, Major, 19th Infantry.
Harlan E. McVay, 1st Lieutenant, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
1891. John R. Bailey, Acting Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
Alexander McC. Guard, Captain, 19th Infantry.
Joseph Frazier, 2nd Lieutenant, 19th Infantry.
1892. Edwin F. Gardner, Captain, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
John R. Bailey, Attending Surgeon.
Edwin F. Gardner, Captain, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.
1893. John Howard, 2nd Lieutenant, 19th Infantry.
James Ronayne, 2nd Lieutenant, 19th Infantry.
1894. Clarence E. Bennett, Major (Brevet Colonel, U. S. Volunteers), 19th Infantry.
- 1894-5. Woodbridge Geary, 1st Lieutenant (Commanding Post), 19th Infantry.
John R. Bailey, Attending Surgeon.
1895. E. M. Johnson, Jr., 1st Lieutenant, 19th Infantry.

CEMETERIES

1909. With the exception of the Military cemetery, the resting places of the dead are not as desired, but a better condition is promised. They are located on the plain southwest of Fort Holmes. The Fort cemetery is in fine order, the result of funds appropriated by the United States. In it are 142 interments, 72 known and 70 unknown. Of the known 7 are officers of the U. S. Army, and 16 wives and children of officers, the balance enlisted men. Fourteen unknown fell in the battle of Michilimackinac, August 4, 1814, and are buried in sections E and G, and also 2 officers and 4 privates of the British army, who died during 1812 and 1815.

There are, in two volumes of Medical and Surgical History of the Post, quite full records of burials, much of the matter compiled by the author. Those books are supposed to be, in file of a bureau, in Washington, D. C.: *Cui bono?* The Park Board would be glad to have them excavated and returned to Fort Mackinac.

1895. Fort Mackinac was evacuated by Major Thomas Williams' command, Company L, 4th Artillery, October 12, 1856, and regarrisoned May 25, 1857, by Captain Arnold

Elzey (Jones), Company E, 2nd Artillery. August 2 the garrison, and that at Fort Brady, Sault Ste. Marie, both under Captain Henry C. Pratt, Company G, 2nd Artillery, with John R. Bailey, A. A. Surgeon, U. S. Army, were ordered to the scene of Indian hostilities at Fort Snelling, Minnesota. June 6, 1858, Fort Mackinac was régarrisoned



MISSION CHURCH, MICILIMACKINAC ISLAND

by Captain Pratt with Company G, 2nd Artillery, and evacuated April 28, 1861, by the same officer and command. It was reoccupied May 10, 1862, by Captain Grover S. Wormer, Company A, Stanton Guards, Michigan Volunteers, who had in charge General William G. Harding, General Washington Barrows and Judge Joseph C. Guild, Confederates, prisoners of war. September 10, 1862, the troops and prisoners were removed to Detroit, and the three state prisoners sent to Johnson's Island, Lake Erie. It was regar-

risoned again August 3, 1866, by the 4th Independent Company Veteran Reserve Corps, and that command ordered away August 26, to be mustered out of service. The fort was reoccupied August 22, 1867, by Company B, 43d United States Infantry, Captain (Brevet-Colonel) John Mitchell (Reed) commanding; and, since then has continued to be garrisoned. The present garrison is a detachment of the 19th United States Infantry, under First Lieutenant Woodbridge Geary, with a quartermaster sergeant and twelve men. John R. Bailey, Attending Surgeon.

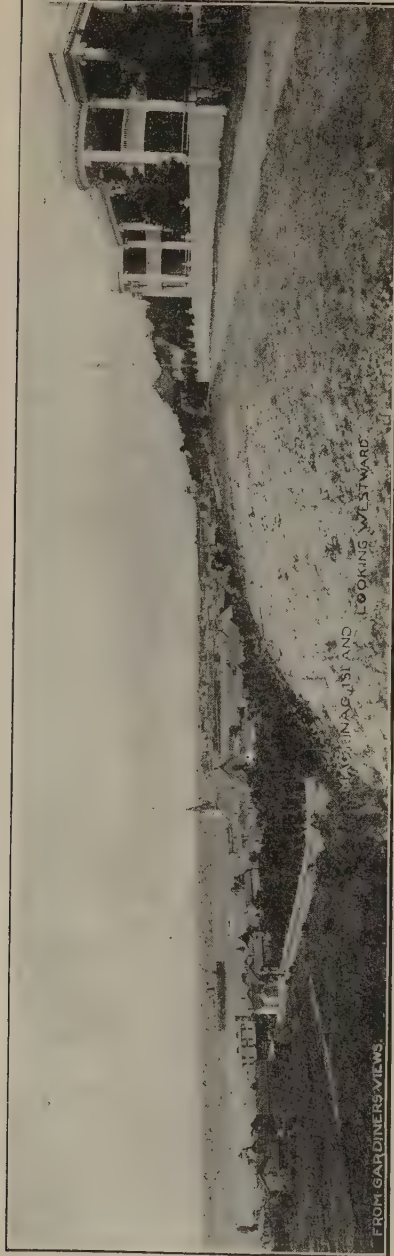
The title of the National Park Bill, setting apart the Military Reservation and United States lands on the Island of Mackinac, makes "The Commanding Officer of Fort Mackinac, *ex-officio* superintendent of said park." During all the periods from 1856, when the troops were absent, the fort was in charge of the late Ordinance Sergeant William Marshall, deceased.

CHURCHES.

1909. The oldest Christian parish on the island is St. Ann's, Roman Catholic, which may be said to date from 1669, or before, Reverend Father Martin Sommers and Bernard Eiling, *pro tem*. The Presbyterian Mission and school dates from 1823, and the Mission House and church was subsequently erected; the Mission Church, now a Union Chapel, has been repaired. Trinity parish, formerly St. Andrew's, Reverend Percy G. H. Robinson, Rector Protestant Episcopal, dates from 1812; and the church on Fort Street was erected in 1882, mainly through the efforts and with the funds of devoted Christian women of the island and their tourist friends. Mackinac Island is the summer residence of Right Reverend Charles D. Williams, D. D., LL. D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Michigan. A Congregational Society has constructed a handsome stone church on Grand street.

MACKINAC ISLAND.—A SUMMER RESORT.

About 1842 a few southern families began making the island a resort. They brought their slaves with them and often remained the entire season, from June until Novem-



MACKINAC ISLAND, LOOKING WESTWARD

ber. Year after year the tourists, who could then only come by water, gradually increased, also the accommodations, by remodeling old buildings, in proportion to the guests.

After "the late unpleasantness," 1861-5, summer travel increased with years of peace and prosperity, railroads (lines before mentioned) projected their roads to both sides of the straits, more steamers were placed in commission, new hotels, boarding houses, and private cottages erected, until finally, the island has become one of the noted and most celebrated of the world's resorts.

From an experience of over fifty years in the practice of medicine on Mackinac Island, and vicinity, much of that time as Post Surgeon, Fort Mackinac, we have observed that all cases of debility, and prostration from whatever disease or cause—when the patients are not beyond the hope of recovery—are benefited by the pure bracing air, and often cured. Miasmatic diseases do not exist, and epidemics from purely local causes can hardly occur. At the fort, with an average command of sixty to eighty men (or about one hundred, women and children, included), there has been for two or three months—at times—in succession, a clean sick report. Few places can show as good health bill the year round.

Professional and active business men, prostrated by active, mental and physical exertion, and the heat of cities, debilitated women, nursing mothers, and teething children, suffering with diseases peculiar to dentition and hot weather, are often cured as if by magic—under proper management—by the change to this climate. The island and vicinity, from June to November is the place, par excellence, for the relief of hay-fever and all asthmatic subjects. It is not prudent to bring patients here in the last stages of consumption or wasting thoracic diseases, but cases in the incipient stages are often greatly benefited. As the months of March, April, November and December are variable and subject to extremes of temperature, if this island has any local disease, it is rheumatism and kindred affections, but for such the summer and midwinter seasons are not objectionable.

It is the days of long continued sunlight, the air, tempered by great inland fresh-water seas, latitude, altitude

and position of Mackinac Island, that makes the climate. Summer days, including twilight, are from 3 A. M., to 9:30 P. M. The whole face of nature has lengthened, daily sunshine, and in consequence, all vegetable and animal life is vigorous and buoyant with circulation. A hop-vine has been known to grow eighteen inches in twenty-four hours, and in May one can watch currant leaves unfolding in the garden.

What to Wear.—On coming to Mackinac one should bring winter garments, wear them, and indulge in sun-baths. The appetite will increase, digestion improve, and nightly, under soft blankets, the charming sleep of perfect restfulness will be experienced.

The extreme cold and heat are less than in the same latitude east and west, and some places far to the south.

Monthly mean and extreme temperature for a series of twenty-four years, taken from Meteorological Records, Fahrenheit thermometer, are; June, 57°; July, 65°; August, 64°; September, 55°; October, 45°; November, 34°; December, 23°; January, 19°; February, 18°; March, 26°; April, 37°; May, 48°. Yearly mean, 41°; minimum, 23°; maximum, 90°. Annual rainfall, 28 inches.

At Sault Ste. Marie, not a degree north, minimum has been—55° in February (when—29° here); maximum, 95° to 100°. Montreal,—36° to 102°. St. Paul, less than a degree south, minimum,—56°; maximum, 103°. St. Louis, Missouri, minimum,—25°; maximum, 108°. We have only once, during a residence of 52 years, seen the minimum here,—29°, and maximum never above 90°.

ALTITUDES.

The following table of altitudes is from Geological Reports and Lake Surveys:

Lake Huron and Michigan above sea	feet 581½
Fort Mackinac, parade ground, above lake	133
Fort Mackinac, upper level, above lake	150
Principal plateau of Mackinac Island above lake..	150
Upper plateau of Mackinac Island above lake	294
Fort Holmes, above lake	318
Sugar-Loaf Rock, summit, above lake	284
Arch Rock, top of arch, above lake	140

Arch Rock, summit, above lake	149
Arch Rock, buttress, top of, facing lake, above lake	105
Robertson's Folly	127
Lover's Leap, above lake	145
Lake Superior, above sea	601½

ACTS OF CONGRESS FOR MACKINAC ISLAND

1895. At the suggestion of the author, and through the influence of Senator Thomas W. Ferry, who introduced the bill, the Indian Dormitory, a part of the military reservation, 0.46 acre, between the fort gardens (the building and grounds enclosed), was ceded, by Act of Congress, in 1870, to Union School District No. 1, Township of Holmes, Mackinac Island, "For educational purposes only, and if ever converted to other uses, it shall revert to the government."

Four other bills passed, Acts of Congress, were proposed by author—three were introduced by Senator Ferry, the last by Senator O. D. Conger and Representative Breitung. The first was the "Mackinac Island National Park Bill" (passed March 3, 1875); two were of a private nature; and the fourth—the "Bois Blanc Island Bill"—in "An Act to provide for the disposal of abandoned and useless Military Reservations."

Sec. 3— * * * * *

"And provided further, the proceeds of the military reservation lands sold on Bois Blanc Island near to Fort Mackinac military reservation shall be set apart as a separate fund for the improvement of the National Park on the Island of Mackinac, Michigan, under the direction of the Secretary of War." Passed 1884. This Act has been disregarded and subverted.

1909. Diverting that 9733 32-100 acre tract by direction of a Secretary of the Interior about 1894, is questionable. He annulled an Act of Congress, which no person has authority to set aside. It amounts to a big grab. That land was, and is, a part of Mackinac Island. National Park, now Mackinac Island State Park, or the proceeds when sold. It

is worth with the timber on it, much of which has been cut off and sold, more than \$400,000. It should be returned to the State Park, on the value thereof, by the United States. One 80 acre lot, held by a party is valued at over \$80,000 for the timber alone.

1895. The following provision in the "Sundry Civil Bill," was introduced by Senator James McMillan, at the suggestion of the Secretary of War, and passed by Congress March 3, 1895.

"165. Military Reservation on Mackinac Island, Michigan. The Secretary of War is hereby authorized on the application of the Governor of Michigan, to turn over to the State of Michigan, for use as a State Park, and for no other purpose, the military reservation and buildings, and the land of the National Park on Mackinac Island, Michigan; Provided, that whenever the state ceases to use the land for the purpose aforesaid, it shall revert to the United States." The measure, the State Legislation passed May 31, 1895. If Michigan proposes to set up alone in the kingdom business she wants this key to the waterways, but if not it may be well for the United States to hold the fort.

If under the French and British regime and with the United States, up to the present time, the possession of the Island of Mackinac and its fortifications, has been deemed so important, why should a continuance of its occupation be, all at once, considered useless? A strategic point once selected, on any commercial highway, must so long as there is a necessity for an army and navy for foreign or local defense, always remain. More vessels of every class, with a great tonnage and larger value, annually pass through these straits and, by ferry, cross them, than in any channel in the known world. Assuming that there is no longer danger from Great Britain, as disputes with that Empire are now settled by arbitration, and the drift of events is towards unity of all English-speaking peoples, suppose, in times of peace and fancied security, there should arise an insurrection, riot, rebellion, or a band of robbers invade these channels in an armed vessel, and any of said parties hold the position for two or three days, or less time, interrupt navigation and stop the railway ferries,—they could destroy floating property and lives, levy contributions and interrupt rail-

road connections, that would cost this government more than enough to hold the fort a hundred years. A small garrison, with two or three properly mounted disappearing modern guns, and a gunboat well armed to rendezvous in harbor and patrol the waters, would be ample security at comparatively little cost. The commercial interest of Canada and the United States, so much interwoven demand protection of the straits of Mackinac.

MACKINAC ISLAND STATE PARK

PUBLIC ACTS, MICHIGAN, REGULAR SESSION, 1895,
PAGES 514, 515. [No. 222.]

AN ACT to provide for the appointment of a board of commissioners who shall have the management and control of the Mackinac Island State Park, and defining its powers and duties.

Section 1. The People of the State of Michigan enact: That, pursuant to an act of Congress authorizing the Secretary of War, on the application of the Governor of the State of Michigan, to turn over to the State of Michigan for use as a state park, and for no other purpose, the military reservation and buildings and the lands of the national park on Mackinac Island, Michigan. Provided, that whenever the State ceases to use the lands for the purpose aforesaid, it shall revert to the United States; the Governor be and he is hereby authorized and directed to make application to the Secretary of War, as aforesaid; and that upon the turning over to the State of Michigan of said military reservation and the buildings and the lands of the national park on Mackinac Island, the same shall thereafter be known as "Mackinac Island State Park."

Sec. 2. Provides: Within thirty days, appointment by the Governor, with the Senate's consent, of a board of five commissioners, citizens of the State, to serve, respectively, two, four, six, eight or ten years; also, the Governor to be ex-officio a member. Commissioners serve without compensation, but may receive actual expenses out of State funds. Governor to fill vacancies.

Sec. 3. Provides: Commission can lay out, control and manage park, employ and pay a superintendent, but debts and obligations can not exceed the funds on hand, Commissioners can designate one or more employes to act as deputy sheriffs of Mackinac County, with sheriff's approval, without pay or compensation as such. Commissioners report to Governor annually receipts and expenditures, and recommend and suggest as may seem proper.

Sec. 4. Provides: Superintendent shall see "that the United States flag is kept floating from the staff of Fort Mackinac"

under rules governing when the fort was occupied "by the United States troops." Approved May 31st, 1895.

1909. The policy of the State, for several years past, has been to make annual appropriations for the improvement of the Fort and Park.

1903.—MACKINAC ISLAND STATE BANK COMMISSION.

Term expires.

Fred M. Warner, Governor, ex-officio.

Alfred O. Jopling, Marquette	June 21, 1911
John R. Bailey, Mackinac Island	June 21, 1913
Leo M. Butzel, Detroit	June 21, 1915
Ira A. Adams, Bellaire	June 21, 1917
Harry Coleman, Pontiac	June 21, 1919

B. F. Emery, Superintendent.

The Commission held its first meeting in the Grand Hotel, Mackinac Island, July 11, 1895, elected officers, and adopted rules for the park. Subsequently the Governor accepted the park for the State of Michigan from the Secretary of War.

The detachment of the United States troops vacated the fort September 16, 1895, and embarked for Sault Ste. Marie, and 1st Lieutenant Woodbridge Geary, United States Army, commanding (ex-officio Superintendent), turned the Fort and Park over to the Acting Superintendent Commissioner George T. Arnold.

1897. Michigan Legislature passed, March 31, Joint Resolution 4, to provide for restoring Fort Mackinac to the United States, authorizing the Mackinac Island State Park Commission to transfer the Fort and Military Reservation (103.41 acres) to the United States whenever the Secretary of War notifies the Commission it is desired for military occupation.

MICHILIMACKINAC STATE PARK AT MACKINAC CITY

April 30, 1909, the Michigan Legislature enacted a Bill, 97, House Enrolled Act No. 33 creating Michilimackinac State Park; being about 20 acres of land in Cheboygan and Emmet counties, on both sides of the line, set apart by Edgar Conkling to Mackinac City forever, as "Wa-wa-tam Park," and transferred, by said town, to the State of Michigan in 1903. It includes the site of Fort Michilimackinac, and adjacent grounds, (at the second Post of Michilimackinac) where the massacre of most of the British garrison, by the Indians, occurred, June 4, 1763. The bill changes the name to "Michilimackinac State Park," and places it under control and management of Mackinac Island State Park Commission. One-fifth ($\frac{1}{5}$) of the State appropriations for Mackinac Island Park are to be applied to the one at Mackinac City.

It was formally accepted by Governor Kelly and Commissioner Bailey, State officials, June 4, 1909, 146 years after the massacre. Being near the terminus of the Michigan Central and Grand Rapids and Indiana Railroads, and the Railway Ferry Docks, many prominent people were present at the ceremony.

The posts and forts on the Straits of Michilimackinac have been in three locations: Post of Michilimackinac Fort de Buade (Point St. Ignace), North Peninsula, 1673; Post and Fort Michi-



TRAIN TO SCENES OF THE PAST

limackinac (now Mackinac City), South Peninsula.* 1728-80; Fort Mackinac (Post of Michilimackinac Island), 1780.

Michilimackinac was the official distinctive title of an extensive territory or province of New France, and the name was not local nor confined to the Island of Michili-Mackinac, where it originated, as many suppose.

GEOLOGY OF MACKINAC ISLAND

Honorable Henry R. Schoolcraft, Indian Agent from 1833 to 1841, and author, writes, after a visit to Mackinac Island in 1820:

“Nothing can exceed the beauty of this island. It is a mass of calcareous rock, rising from the bed of Lake Huron, and reaching an elevation of more than three hundred feet above the water. The waters around it are purity itself. Some of its cliffs shoot up perpendicularly, and

*Exact time of occupation not determined; may have been 1742.



Geo. H. Bennett
Chicago

SUGAR LOAF ROCK, MACKINAC ISLAND

tower in pinnacles, like ruinous gothic steeples. It is cavernous in some places; and in these caverns the ancient Indians, like those of India, have placed their dead. Portions of the beach are level, and adapted to loading from boats and canoes. The harbor at its south end is a little gem. Vessels anchor in it and find good holding. The little old-fashioned French town nestles around it, in a very primitive style. The fort frowns above it, like another Alhambra, its white walls gleaming in the sun. The whole area of the island is one labyrinth of curious little glens and valleys. Old green fields appear, in some spots, which have been formerly cultivated by the Indians. In some of these are circles of gathered up stones, as if the Druids themselves had dwelt there. The soil, though rough, is fertile, being the comminuted materials of broken-down limestones. The island was formerly covered with a dense growth of rock-maple, oak, ironwood, and other hardwood species; and there are still parts of this ancient forest left, but all the southern limits of it exhibit a young growth. There are walks and winding paths among its little hills, and precipices of the most romantic character. And whenever the visitor gets on eminences overlooking the lake, he is transported with sublime views of a most illimitable and magnificent water-prospect. If the poetic muses are ever to have a new Parnassus in America they should inevitably fix on Michilimackinac. Hygeia, too, should place her temple here; for it has one of the purest, driest, clearest, and most healthful atmospheres."

Geologically speaking, too, the island is interesting and instructive. It appears to be a confused mass of corniferous limestones, two hundred and fifty or more feet in thickness. In places the strata, well-defined but broken, is tilted at various angles, and at its base are the rocks of the Onondaga salt group. Professor Winchell writes:

"The well-characterized limestones of the Upper Helderberg group, to the thickness of two hundred and fifty feet, exist in a confusedly brecciated condition. The individual fragments of the mass are angular, and seem to have been but little moved from their original places. It appears as if the whole formation had been shattered by sudden vibrations and unequal uplifts, and afterward a thin calcareous

mud poured over the broken mass, percolating through all the interstices, and recementing the fragments.

"This is the general physical character of the mass; but in many places the original lines of stratification can be traced, and individual layers of the formation can be seen dipping at various angles and in all directions, sometimes exhibiting abrupt flexures, and not infrequently a complete downthrow of fifteen or twenty feet. These phenomena were particularly noticed at the cliff known as 'Robertson's Folly.'

"In the highest part of the island, back of Old Fort Holmes, the formation is much less brecciated, and exhibits an oolitic character, as first observed in the township of Bedford, in Monroe county. * * *

"The island of Mackinac shows the most indubitable evidence of the former prevalence of the water to the height of two hundred and fifty feet above the present level of the lake; and there has been an unbroken continuance of the same kind of aqueous action from that time during the gradual subsidence of the waters to their present condition. No break can be detected in the evidences of this action from the present water-line upward for thirty, fifty, or one hundred feet, and even up to the level of the grottoes excavated in the brecciated materials of 'Sugar-Loaf,' the level of 'Skull Cave,' and the 'Devil's Kitchen.'

"While we state the fact, however, of the continuity of the action during this period it is not intended to allege that the water of the lakes, as such, has ever stood at the level of the summit of Sugar-Loaf. Nor do we speak upon the question whether these changes have been caused by the subsidence of the lakes, or the uplift of the island and adjacent promontories. It is true that the facts presented bear upon these and other interesting questions; but we must forego any discussion of them."

Professor Winchell believed there had been some elevation of the island and surrounding land, but more subsidence of the waters; "much of which was probably effected during the prevalence of the continental glacial, and much during the time of floods following, and the action of the sea while the region was submerged."



ARCH ROCK, MACKINAC ISLAND

The grand feature of the island formation is the Arch Rock, in the bluff, on the eastern face.

The following parody on a popular song was found, in 1865, written on a stone, placed on a water-worn shelf near the base of the arch. It was first published in 1870:

“Beauteous Isle! I sing to thee,
 Mackinac, my Mackinac;
 Thy lake-bound shores I love to see,
 Mackinac, my Mackinac.
 From Arch Rock’s height and shelving steep
 To western cliffs and Lover’s Leap,
 Where memories of the lost one sleep.
 Mackinac, my Mackinac.

Thy northern shore trod British foe,
 Mackinac, my Mackinac,
 That day saw gallant Holmes laid low,
 Mackinac, my Mackinac.
 Now Freedom’s flag above thee waves.
 And guards the rest of fallen braves,
 Their requiem sung by Huron’s waves,
 Mackinac, my Mackinac.”

Summit of Arch Rock above lake level 149 feet. Foster and Whitney mention the Arch and Sugar-Loaf Rocks, “as particular examples of denuding action.”

“The portion supporting the arch on the north side, and the curve of the arch itself, are comparatively fragile, and can not for a long period resist the action of rains and frosts, which, in this latitude, and on a rock thus constituted, produce great ravages every season. The arch, which on one side now connects this abutment with the main cliff, will soon be destroyed, as well as the abutment itself, and the whole be precipitated into the lake.”

GLEANED FROM “THE HIGHEST OLD SHORE LINE ON MACKINAC ISLAND,” BY F. B. TAYLOR, 1892.

“All the lower levels of Mackinac show plain evidence of past glacial action. The modern beach is composed almost entirely of limestone pebbles which are generally well rounded.” The beach on which the village is built, from the water to an altitude of forty-five or fifty feet, is of the same material.

“Post glacial submergence is more plainly marked from

the one-hundred-and-seventy-foot plain where there is a well developed beach ridge, and four others, up to two hundred and five feet, about the base of Fort Holmes hill. Facing the northeast cliffs of Fort Holmes (island), the beach lines are all wanting but the one-hundred-and-seventy-foot ridge. The surface of the island is well sprinkled with bowlders, many erratics, of northern origin, their exposed surfaces strongly weathered. There are no bowlders with glacial scratches below the two-hundred-and-fifty-foot level.

"Then the real 'Ancient Island,' three-quarters of a mile long and less than half as wide, its longer axis northwest and southeast, the highest point, covered by the British earth-work, is the Fort Holmes plateau. It is covered with drift, the bowlders and pebbles straited. The fort embankment, surrounded by a ditch five or six feet deep, is most entirely bowlder clay mixed with straited bowlders and pebbles.

"All the mainland, north and south, was submerged when the summit of the Island of Michilimackinac (Pequod-e-nonge) was a dot in the waters." We leave the rest to the reader for deeper study, theory and conjecture.

In an address, "Mackinac Island and Its Associations," by the author, before the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, New York City, December 10, 1897, is the following, in conclusion:

"If battlefields are being set off as National Parks and Reservations, that help to perpetuate the memory of civil strife, why not regarrison the old Fort, on the historic island, where battles have been fought with a foreign foe; an island named by the savages, and whose settlement by the whites is coincident with the discovery of this continent; where the soldiers of three great nations have proudly marched over its sacred soil, and, on the shores of the straits, their flags have triumphantly waved."

"Ye call these red-browed brethren
The insects of the hour,
Crushed like the noteless worm amid
The regions of their power;
Ye drive them from their fathers' lands,
Ye break the faith, the seal;
But can ye from the court of Heaven
Exclude their last appeal?"

ADDENDA

ROADS AND PATHS ON MACKINAC ISLAND.

Steamers landing, from twenty to fifty or more per day.

When you land at Mackinac Island, by lake steamers or by the steam ferries that connect with the M. C., G. R. & I., D. & M., D., S. S. & A., and Minneapolis, St. Paul & Sault Ste. Marie R. Rs., face to the front, the town and fort are before you, and the Beach Boulevard encircles the island. The road through the center of the island leads from the Fort to Fort Holmes, Reservoirs, Gold Links, Skull Cave, Cemeteries, Dousman's Farm (Earlys), Battle Fields, British Landing, Boulevard and Scott's Cave. Roads to the right (eastward) to east end: Boulevard, Robertson's Folly, Giants' Stairway, Fairy Arch, Arch Rock, Dwightwood Spring, Waterworks, Sugar-Loaf Rock, Park avenue and Leslie avenue into the British Landing road. Roads to the left (westward): Boulevard, Grand Hotel, Park avenue, West End, Wacheo (Hubbard's Annex), Lover's Leap, Chimney Rock, Lover's Lane, and Cupid's Pathway, into the British Landing road. Consult Bailey's Outline Map of Mackinac Island. You can not get lost, if attentive to directions, but if you do, it will only be a charming temporary novelty.

In the fall of 1896, a lake shore Beach Boulevard 7 1560-5280 miles from the Borough Lot to Mission Park was projected, and the section from Grand Hotel to British Landing, 15,100 feet, was completed. About \$5,000 will construct the north and east sides. This boulevard now (1904) finished, is a driveway that can be nowhere excelled for novelty, variety and scenic effect—another charm to nature's Fairly Isle.

The length of the completed boulevard from the Borough Lot to the Mission property is seven miles, one thousand five hundred and sixty feet. The east side has cost double the amount estimated.

"DWIGHTWOOD SPRING"

1909. During the past year Hon. Edwin O. Wood of Flint, presented the Commission funds to improve one of the springs on the eastern boulevard. This spring to be known as "Dwightwood Spring." In his letter to the superintendent, Mr. Wood writes:

"Permit me to thank your Honorable Board of Commissioners, and yourself personally, for the courtesy extended to me in the matter. If in beautifying this spring of pure, clear, cold

water, which God has brought out from the rock, to quench the thirst of the thousands of people who visit your island, if it shall have made it one of the bright spots, restful and refreshing to the weary, to be remembered by them long after leaving the Island's shores, then I am sure we will all be repaid for the small part which we may have taken in providing additional beauties and conveniences for the public."

Connected with this memorial of a bright and noble youth there is a tragedy. August 12, 1905, a fire alarm sounded in Flint, and Dwight H. Wood and a brother rushed to the scene. In a few minutes his body, crushed and mangled by the steam fire engine, was returned lifeless, to his parents.



1909. STEAMBOAT AND RAILWAY LINES, ETC. TO
MACKINAC ISLAND.

Anchor Line.
Arnold Transit Co.
Detroit & Cleveland Navigation Co.
Green Bay Transportation Co.
Goodrich Transit Co.
Island Transportation Co.
Northern Michigan Transportation Co.
Northern Steamship Co.
Northern Navigation Co.
Detroit & Mackinac R. R.
Duluth, South Shore & Atlantic R. R.
Grand Rapids & Indiana R. R.
Michigan Central R. R.
Pullman Co.
American Express Co.
Adams Express Co.
Western Express Co.

Railroads.

Michigan Central Ry.
Grand Rapids & Indiana Ry.
Duluth, South Shore & Atlantic Ry.
Detroit & Mackinac Ry.
St. Paul, Minneapolis & Soo Ry.
All connecting by Ferry.
The Island is connected by telegraph and telephone cables,
and wireless telegraph.

LIST OF HOTELS AND BOARDING HOUSES

Name of Hotel and Manager	Capacity	Per Day	Per Week
Sault Ste. Marie, Mich.			
New Park Hotel, James R. Hayes.....	200	\$2 50 to \$3 00	Special
Belvedere Hotel, P R. Downey	100	1 50 to 2 00	Special
Superior House, Geo. H. Cook	75	1 00 to 1 50	Special
Franklin House, Geo. H. Cook	75	1 00 to 1 50	Special
Sherman House, John Fennessy	100	1 50	Special
Hickler House			
Murray Hill, J. W. McTavish	200	American and European plan	Special
Sault Ste. Marie, Ont.			
International Hotel, J. S. Miller	250	2 50 up	Special
Cornwall Hotel, M. F. Goodwin	100	1 50 to 2 50	Special
Algonquin Hotel, H. E. Leland	75	2 00 to 2 50	Special
Leland Hotel, E. J. Gaudet	60	1 50 to 2 50	Special
Windsor Hotel, N. McDougal	75	1 50 to 2 50	Special
Victoria Hotel, A. McKinnon	50	2 00	Special
Hessel, Mich.			
Hotel Hessel, John Hessel	100	2 00 to 2 50	Special
Les Cheneaux, Mich.			
Islington Hotel, Mrs. R. S. Melchers ..	150	2 00 to 2 50	Special
Elliott House, A. H. & J. W. Beach	100	2 00	Special
Les Cheneaux Hotel, F. W. Meyer	75	2 00	Special
Lakeside Hotel, John Coryell	75	2 00	Special
Pennsylvania Hotel, Samuel Melk	50	2 00	Special
Les Cheneaux Club, A Mutual Ass'n	100	Only guests in- troduced by members taken	Special
Cedarville, Mich.			
Hodeck House, V. Hodeck	100	2 00	Special
Mackinac Island, Mich.			
Grand Hotel, C. J. Holden	1000	2 50 up	Special
Island House, Mrs. R. Van A. Webster..	400	2 50 to 4 00	Special
Chippewa Hotel, Geo. T. Arnold	250	European plan only 1 50 up	Special
Astor House, Harry Cable	250	2 00 to 3 00	Special
New Mackinac Hotel, Bogan Bros.	250	2 50 to 3 00	Special
Lake View Hotel, C. C. Cable	225	2 50 to 3 00	Special
Mission House, Mrs. S. R. Franks	200	2 50 to 3 00	Special
New Murray Hotel, J. W. Murray	200	2 50 to 3 00	Special
New Chicago Hotel,, John Hoban	150	2 00 to 2 50	Special
Palmer House, Geo. T. Arnold	100	European plan	
Windsor Hotel, Mrs. B. Gallagher	100	2 00	Special
Bennett Hall, Mrs. F. M. Bennett	100		\$14 00 to \$20 00
Doud Cottage, Miss Mary Doud	100		10 00 to 16 00
Pine Cottage, Mrs. Thos. Gallagher	80		Special
Lachance Cottage, B. Lachance	75	2 00	12 00 to 14 00
The Iroquois, S. B. Poole	75	2 00 up	12 00 to 16 00
Hoban Cottage, Miss A. Hoban	60		10 00 to 16 00
Cameron Cottage, Mrs. M. F. Cameron..	25		10 00 to 12 00
Terrace Cottage, Mrs. P. Kerrigan.....	25		10 00 up
Sunnyside Cottage, Mrs. E. Bailey.....	25		Special
Enterprise Cottage, P. McCormick	25		Special
Ivanhoe Cottage, Mrs. Emily Haines....	25		Special
Pointe aux Pins, Mich.			
The Pines Hotel, Pointe aux Pins Ass'n.	150		12 00 to 18 00

LIST OF HOTELS AND BOARDING HOUSES

Name of Hotel and Manager	Capacity	Per Day	Per Week
Cheboygan, Mich.			
New Cheboygan Hotel, St. Amour Bros.	150	\$2 00 up	Special
Spencer House, Perkett & Hubbard	100	1 25 to 1 50	Special
Summit House, R. N. Hyde	50	1 00 to 1 50	Special
Detour, Mich.			
Hotel DeTour, John F. Goetz	100	2 00 up	Special
Mackinaw City, Mich.			
The Wentworth, Mich. Cent. R. R.	100	1 50
Stimpson House, D. Smith & Sons	100	1 00
Mackinaw City House, Mrs. A. Ranville	20	1 00
The Lakeside, Mrs. M. Clark	25	1 00 to 1 50
Encampment, Mich.			
Hotel & Cabins, Mrs. Hugh Kenceipp, P. O. Neebish, Mich.	75	2 00	Special
St. Ignace, Mich.			
Dunham House, J. M. Campbell	50	2 00	8 00 to 10 00
Hotel LeClerc, Whitewell Bros.	75	2 00	8 00 to 12 00
Edgar House, Thos. Edgar	25	1 00
Rock View, J. J. Thompson	25	1 00
Snyder House, S. A. Snyder	50	1 00
Forest Grove, Dr. M. C. Orser	25	1 25
Petoskey, Mich.			
New Arlington, S. H. Peck	800	2 50 up	15 00 up
Cushman, W. L. McManus, Jr.	300	2 00 to 3 00	15 00 up
Clifton	100	1 00 to 1 50	Special
Oriental	75	1 00 to 1 50	Special
New Perry	150	2 00 to 3 00	Special
Park House	75	1 50 to 2 00	Special
New Central	150	1 50 to 2 00	Special

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Michigan*



*John R. Bailey
Estate*

*Mackinac Island
Michigan*



